

# THE FLEMINGS



## FLEMISH MIGRATIONS

- 02. THE FLEMINGS
- 05. A HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION TO BRITAIN
- 12. FLEMISH MIGRATIONS
- 14. FLEMISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE U.K.
- 15. FLEMISH ORIGIN OF SCOTTISH CLANS : e.g. – THE LINDSAYS
- 21. FLEMISH ORIGIN OF SCOTTISH CLANS : e.g. – THE RUTHERFURDS
- 34. FLEMISH ORIGIN OF SCOTTISH CLANS : e.g. – THE GRAHAMS
- 40. THE RISE OF THE FLEMISH FAMILIES IN SCOTLAND
- 48. THE FLEMINGS IN SOUTH WEST WALES
- 49. THE FLEMISH LANGUAGE
- 131. IN FLANDERS' FIELDS
- 132. NEW YORK AND ITS ORIGINS
- 137. FLEMISH-AMERICAN HEROES
- 149. FLEMISH IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA
- 170. FLEMINGS IN GERMANY: DER FLAEMING
- 178: FLEMINGS IN POLAND
- 180: BELGIANS IN MANITOBA
- 184: THE BELGIANS OF SOUTH-CENTRAL MANITOBA
- 189: THE COLONIZATION OF THE AZORES ISLANDS
- 190: A DIFFERENT STORY: FRANCE AND FLEMISH – FRANCE
- 200: FLEMISH IN THE NORTH OF FRANCE
- 207: FLEMISH IN FRANCE – A CASE OF LANGUAGE DEATH

# THE FLEMINGS

The term Flemings (Dutch: *Vlamingen*) is primarily used to refer to the ethnic group native to Flanders (the northern half of Belgium, historically part of the Southern Netherlands), which in total numbers about 6 million people in Belgium (the majority of the 10 million Belgians). In addition, the term also refers to ethnic Flemings in French Flanders (mainly in the Département du Nord of present-day France), in the southern part of the Dutch province of Zeeland known as Zeeuws-Vlaanderen and in other Flemish communities around the world. The Flemings have their language in common with the Dutch, and thus remain relatively well aware of their northern neighbours with whom they have shared significant parts of their history. It is generally believed, based on historical linguistics, that the Flemings mainly descend from the invading Germanic tribes, rather than from the Gaulish tribes who lived in the same region before Roman times. At first sight, Flemish culture is defined by its West Germanic language, Dutch, as opposed to the language and culture of their mostly Francophone compatriots within Belgium.

## CULTURE AND IDENTITY

The native Flemings descend from [Germanic tribes](#), predominantly [Franks](#), and mixed [Celtic-Germanic](#) "[Gaulish](#)" tribes who had lived in the same region even before Roman times.<sup>[1]</sup> In the first instance, Flemish culture is defined by its [West Germanic](#) language, [Dutch](#), shared with most people in the [Netherlands](#), as opposed to the Francophone compatriots within Belgium. Contrary to popular belief, a Flemish literature does exist, though Flemish literary schools are also present within the Dutch literature as a whole.<sup>[1]</sup>

For students, the intellectual norm in [Flanders](#) means learning two or even three foreign languages to a higher standard than required in most countries. Generally, French and English are obligatory in most secondary school programs; in addition, [German](#) and/or another language from a supplemental list may be required or strongly encouraged.<sup>[1]</sup> Cosmopolitanism has long been a historical constant in Flanders' very open economy, while the mainly Anglo-Saxon orientation is a rather recent phenomenon; that is, until the 1960s --as long enforced by the Belgian state-- [Flanders](#) was heavily dominated by [French culture](#), which now only is an honorable second.<sup>[1]</sup> Proficiency in [English](#) has greatly increased during the last half century, while proficiency in [French](#) and [German](#) has decreased somewhat.<sup>[1]</sup> Proficiency in other languages has widened and improved, while some companies complain about a seemingly eternal lack of sufficient German-speakers.

## Related ethno-linguistic groups

The Flemish once formed a single ethnic group with what are currently the [Dutch](#). When the split occurred is a matter of debate; in fact, there are people who dispute whether the Flemish form a distinct ethnic group at all.

From the 13th to the 15th centuries, [Prussia](#) invited several waves of Flemings along with [Netherlands Dutch](#) and [Frisians](#) to settle throughout the country (mainly along the [Baltic Sea](#) coast). In the 12th century, [Fläming](#), a region in [Germany](#) southwest of [Berlin](#) in the historic state of [Brandenburg](#) was subsequently named for them as they cultivated new farming lands. Flemings also represented a small proportion of German-speaking [Transylvanian Saxon](#) settlement in the [Romanian](#) region of [Transylvania](#) then under [Austro-Hungarian](#) rule from the 16th to 18th centuries.







Today, the Flemish diaspora consists of Flemish emigrants and their descendants in countries such as France, the United States, Britain, Canada, Indonesia, Australia, South Africa and Latin America.

During the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, when the territory of present-day Flanders was the setting for an impressive economic and cultural boom, many artists and craftsmen sought to introduce their skills elsewhere, particularly in southern Europe. Flemish settlers introduced the first printing presses into Spain and Portugal. The Flemish contribution to the developing and populating of the Azores was so conspicuous that for a long time the archipelago was referred to as the Flemish Islands.

Following in the wake of the explorers, Flemish missionaries such as Pieter van Gent (1480-1572) in Mexico, Joos de Rijcke (1498-1578) in Ecuador, Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688) in China, Constant Lievens (1856-1893) in India, Pierre-Jean De Smet (1801-1873) in the United States, and Jozef de Veuster (1840-1889) in Molokai built a reputation in various overseas countries that continues even to this day.

A combination of a demographic explosion and inadequate economic growth resulted in an emigration from Flanders that started in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century and continued up to the First World War. It was something that every family faced sooner or later. Not only did it involve the so-called lower classes of the population, but also non-lower-class people, who found a future overseas in teacher-training colleges and colleges of engineering and agriculture. Louis Cruis, for example, was a Flemish engineer who led expeditions to lay down the boundaries of Brazil and the city limits of the capital, Brasilia.

The destination of the majority of Flemish emigrants was France. There are an estimated 1,250,000 people with a Flemish surname in France. The Nord and Pas-de-Calais departments were parts of historic Flanders before France annexed the region in 1656.

Regions with significant populations		
 <a href="#">Belgium</a>	6,230,000	<a href="#">[1]</a>
 <a href="#">Canada</a>	12,430 - 168,910	<a href="#">[2]</a>
 <a href="#">United States</a>	58,545 - 389,171	<a href="#">[3]</a>
 <a href="#">France</a>	187,750	<a href="#">[2]</a>
 <a href="#">South Africa</a>	55,200	<a href="#">[2]</a>
 <a href="#">Australia</a>	15,130	<a href="#">[2]</a>

The Flemish [diaspora](#) consists of Flemish emigrants and their descendants in countries such as the present [Netherlands](#), [France](#), [Britain](#), [India \(Sri Lanka\)](#), [Indonesia](#), [Australia](#), the [Democratic Republic of the Congo](#), [South Africa](#) and [The Americas](#). <sup>[[citation needed](#)]</sup>

During the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, when the territory of present-day [Flanders](#) formed the setting for an impressive economic and cultural boom as well as certain internal problems, many artists and craftsmen sought refuge elsewhere. Flemish settlers introduced the first printing presses into [Spain](#) and [Portugal](#). <sup>[[citation needed](#)]</sup> The Flemish contribution to the exploitation as well as the population of the [Azores](#) was so conspicuous, that for a long time the archipelago was referred to as the Flemish islands. <sup>[[citation needed](#)]</sup>

Following in the wake of the explorers, Flemish missionaries such as [Pieter van Gent](#) in [Mexico](#), [Joost de Rijcke](#) in [Ecuador](#), [Ferdinand Verbiest](#) in [China](#), [Constant Lievens](#) in [India](#), [Pierre-Jean DeSmet](#) in the [United States](#) and [Jozef de Veuster](#) in [Molokai](#) built up a reputation in various overseas countries that continues even to this day.<sup>1</sup>

A combination of a demographic explosion and inadequate economic growth resulted in an [emigration](#) from Flanders that continued up to [World War I](#). It was something that every family faced sooner or later. Not only did it involve the so-called lower classes of the population, but also members of the better classes who found a future overseas in teacher-training colleges and colleges of engineering and agriculture. [Louis Cruis](#), for example, was a Flemish engineer who led expeditions to lay down the boundaries of [Brazil](#) and the city limits of the capital [Brasilia](#).

In France, the [Nord](#) and [Pas-de-Calais](#) departments were parts of historic Flanders before France annexed the region in 1656 (and other additions until the last permanent boundary change in the 1790s after the [French Revolution](#)). About 400,000 Flemings settled in [France](#) proper. They often had to start afresh in poor villages, from where they breathed new life into agriculture. There are an estimated 1,250,000 people with a Flemish<sup>[[dubious](#) – [discuss](#)]</sup> surname in France.

Similar to the Netherlands, many Flemish families also emigrated to [South Africa](#) due to the relative closeness of culture and language.

In the [United States](#) and [Canada](#) today, there are Americans with Flemish roots but who are mostly regarded as [Dutch Americans](#).

# A HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION TO BRITAIN

The following article by **Alistair McConnachie** appeared in a Special Report enclosed free with the November 2002 issue of *Sovereignty*, available from the address at the bottom of this webpage.

## PRE-HISTORY

At the end of the Mesolithic time, 4,000 BC, there may have been around 3,000 people in Britain. At the beginning of the Bronze Age, 2,500 BC, the population has been estimated at 20,000, and rising, by the later Bronze Age, 1000-700 BC, to around 100,000. By 100 BC there may have been around 250,000 people in Britain, which had risen to 500,000 by 50 BC.<sup>[1](#)</sup>

## THE CELTS

These were the related tribes of the **BRITONS**, **SCOTS/GAELS** and **PICTS**. Celtic languages evolved during the Later Bronze Age, around 1000 BC. Where did they come from? There is little to suggest major population movement occurred during the Iron Age, 700 BC-43 AD. The Celts **descended in large part from Britain's own Neolithic people.**<sup>[2](#)</sup>

## ROMANS 43-410 AD

The invasion saw around 20,000 combat troops and the same number of auxiliaries, making a figure of around 40-45,000.<sup>[3](#)</sup> The Romans kept around 16,000 legionaries stationed here, with perhaps around the same number of dependants and auxiliaries,<sup>[4](#)</sup> some of whom would be drawn from the native population. Paul Johnson writes, "For the mass of the British, the Roman occupation was a disaster."<sup>[5](#)</sup> Their course of conquest led to the **total destruction** of the Celtic societies of the south. Estimates for the population by 200 AD vary between 1 and 2 million.<sup>[6](#)</sup>

## ANGLES, SAXONS, JUTES, FRISIANS, FRANKS circa 400-600 AD

Leslie Alcock writes, "... Bede tells us that 'three very powerful German peoples' were involved, 'that is Saxons, Angles and Jutes'. Archaeology and place-names studies would add other names to these, including Franks, Frisians and *Suevi*. Broadly speaking, we have to deal with ethnic and cultural elements coming from as far apart as the Lower Rhine and the tip of the Jutish peninsula ... He tells us that the 'race of the English or Saxons' ... came 'from three very strong tribes of Germany' ... He explains that the Saxon homeland was the region 'now known as Old Saxony', while that of the Angles was the 'land called *Angulus* ... between the provinces of the Jutes and the Saxons'. *Angulus* must correspond broadly with the modern Angeln towards the base of the Schleswig-Jutland peninsula; the territory of the Jutes lay in the northern part of that peninsula; and Old Saxony was the land between the Elbe and the Weser. We have no means of knowing what mixture of oral tradition and pure speculation lay behind Bede's analysis, but for more than a century archaeologists have been collecting material to confirm and amplify it."<sup>[7](#)</sup>

Frisians were from the Frisian Islands and the area to the north of the Netherlands, and the Franks were from areas along the Rhine and Merovingian Gaul. The *Suevi* were from Sweden.

"To this amalgam the term 'Anglo-Saxon' can well be applied" writes Alcock,<sup>[8](#)</sup> and suggests "in the sixth century the Anglo-Saxon element in the population of Britain amounted to no more than fifty to a hundred thousand."<sup>[9](#)</sup> Alcock believes the population around 200 AD was at least a million but that it had declined markedly by the start of the fifth century.

Paul Johnson writes, "Arthur's [*circa* 475-537] real achievement was that he delayed, indeed for a time reversed, the progress of Germanic settlement. This had important consequences, for it prevented the British from being exterminated in, or wholly expelled from, the lowland area. **It is true that British culture disappeared almost completely.**"<sup>[10](#)</sup>

## DANES and NORWEGIANS (VIKINGS) 789-1104 AD

Disinclined to celebrate diversity, the Viking "immigrants" brought terror, death, destruction, and the **almost complete eradication** of the indigenous Christian culture. The first Viking attack was recorded in 789 AD, and then in 793 AD against the Angles monastery of Lindisfarne.

**Alfred of Wessex, King of the English**, repulsed the Danes at the end of the 9th century, but the Northmen were too strong to be permanently defeated, and **Canute**, King of Denmark and Norway, triumphed in 1016. Viking history effectively ended in England with the Battle of Hastings, although it lasted longer in Scotland with Magnus Barefoot's seizure of the Western Isles between 1098 and 1104.

What numbers are we talking about? Lloyd and Jennifer Laing write, "In the late seventh century the Laws of Ine of Wessex announce that 'up to seven men' were thieves, 'from seven to thirty-five a band and above three dozen an army'. In 786 Cynheard's army amounted to eighty-five men, which was nearly sufficient to capture Wessex from king Cynewulf. Hengist and Horsa are described as having come over in three ships, while Cerdic and Cynric came over in five. In other words, **war bands coming to England were of the order of 100-250 men**".<sup>11</sup> Thus Viking voyagers should be numbered in the hundreds, not thousands.

## NORMANS 1066

Writing of the Norman invasion and "Continental" takeover, Paul Johnson writes, "When William dismissed his mercenaries in 1070, nearly all returned to France ... The probability is that the Continental settlement did not involve more than 10,000 people - and perhaps as few as 5,000 out of a population of well over a million. England simply acquired a new ruling class."<sup>12</sup>

### TO SUMMARISE SO FAR:

- All these people were **different tribes of the same European race**.
- Their **numbers were few**.
- They came, predominantly, from a **very small** part of Northern Europe.
- They were not so much "immigrants" as **invaders**.
- Their initial presence was often **violently resisted**.
- They **changed, and often violently destroyed, the original culture**.
- **They took over the reins of government**.
- They were entering a **land which was virtually empty**, and which remained so, right up until the late 19th Century.
- This migration process occurred over **two thousand years**.
- There were **not** millions of people waiting to follow them.

## JEWS 1066-1290, from 1656, and particularly 1881-1914 and 1933-39

Until very recently, Jews represented the only substantial non-Christian presence in Britain. The first definite settlement occurred shortly after 1066. It has been suggested that they may have helped finance the invasion.<sup>13</sup>

Their main activity was money-lending. For example, **Magna Carta 1215** declares, "If anyone who has borrowed a sum of money from Jews dies before the debt has been repaid, his heir shall pay no interest on the debt for so long as he remains under age ..." Paul Johnson has written that Magna Carta undermined the economic basis of English medieval Jewry.<sup>14</sup>

An angry **Simon de Montfort**, Earl of Leicester and **founder of the first English Parliament**, decreed in 1231 that: "No jew or jewess in my time, or in the time of any of my heirs **to the end**



**of the world** shall inhabit or remain, or obtain a residence in Leicester."[15](#)

In 1290, the community of around 5,000 [16](#) was expelled by **Edward I**. Another estimate claims the figure "exceeded fifteen thousand."[17](#)

Paul Johnson has written, "In the fourteenth century English agriculture suffered grievously from the absence of Jewish finance, and the failure to provide a native substitute."[18](#) By 1348, England's population has been estimated at between 4.5 and 6 million.[19](#)

**Menasseh Ben Israel**, the spin-doctor of his day, from Amsterdam, was concerned about the security of Jews in Holland, and wanted to see England opened up as a country of refuge. To that end, in 1650, he published *The Hope of Israel* aimed at Christian fundamentalists, which argued that Jews had to be scattered throughout the world, including England, before the Messiah would return. He presented a petition to Cromwell on the matter.

**Oliver Cromwell** favoured the readmission of Jews for predominantly commercial reasons. He called a convention in Whitehall to discuss the matter in December 1655. It decided there was no law preventing re-admittance because, it argued, Edward's act had been one of Royal Prerogative -- but it could not agree to readmission. However, Cromwell had made it clear that he was unopposed, and although no law was passed enabling their residence, and with Charles II subsequently unopposed either, Jews began to re-settle.[20](#)

**William of Orange** embarked upon a policy of encouraging wealthy Dutch Jews, who were also financing his operations, to settle in Britain. Geoffrey Alderman writes, "As a corollary, however, the Jews had to become the staunchest supporters of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 ... As shareholders in the National Debt, the richer sections of the community risked financial ruin had there been a Stuart restoration; for such an event would certainly have been followed by **a repudiation of government debts.**"[21](#)

In 1685 there were 400 Jews in Great Britain, which had doubled by the end of the century. In 1753 there were probably less than 8,000. By 1815, there were around 20-30,000.[22](#)

The next period of Jewish immigration was from Russia, Lithuania and Poland towards the end of the 19th Century.

**David Coleman**, Oxford University writes: "The Jews who fled from the Russian Empire (including Poland) and Romania, especially after 1882, seeking entry to Britain and other Western countries, were not so welcome. For the most part they were unskilled and destitute. They were conspicuous by appearance, language and religion. **It was a migration unique in British history.** There had been poor religious refugees before (like the 10,000 'poor Palatines' of the reign of Queen Anne [1702-1714]), but **never had there been non-Christian refugees in such numbers.** The return of the Sephardi Jews (expelled in 1290) from 1656 onwards began as a tiny migration which had grown to a prosperous and well established community by the 19th century. The arrival of the East European Ashkenazi Jews in large numbers (about 120,000 inferred from the Census of 1911), their concentration in certain areas, the pressure they imposed on housing and employment, **provoked growing demands for immigration control.**"[23](#)

Around 55,000 Jews arrived between 1933-1939.[24](#) In 1995 there were 285,000 Jews in Britain, down from a post-war high of 400,000.[25](#)

## LOMBARDS and HANSA 1250-1598

These were small numbers of merchants from Lombardy in Italy, and from the Hanseatic League, a trading association of German and Baltic towns. Based in London, Lombards gradually replaced Jews as the country's financiers, during this period. The Hansa merchants were squeezed out when their operation near London Bridge was closed down in 1598.[26](#)

## WEAVERS FROM THE LOW COUNTIES 1337-1550

**The Flemish** and Walloons came from "The Low Counties" which are now Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg and parts of northern France and Germany. They came to East Anglia in the 13th and 14th century spurred by warfare, civil strife and good wool. They came in the 16th century escaping religious persecution. In 1440 there were 16,000 foreigners in England,[27](#) among a population estimated between 2 and 2.5 million, which had fallen by at least 60 percent since the Black Death.[28](#)

## GYPSIES from 1500

Gypsies began to arrive in small numbers around this time. **Elizabeth I** tried to expel them with her 1562 Egyptian Act.[29](#)

## HUGUENOTS 1560-1720

Protestants from France began coming in earnest around 1685, and increasingly after 1688. W. Cunningham writes that around 80,000 landed in England and Ireland. Some moved to America and Germany and perhaps around 40,000 remained.[30](#) The CRE estimates 50,000 Huguenot newcomers between 1680 and 1720.[31](#)

In 1558 the population was around 2,500,000. Between 1603-1625, it has been estimated at between 4-4.5 million, and 5,600,000 in 1630. In 1750 the population of Great Britain was probably a little over 7,000,000.[32](#)

## PALATINES 1693-1709

Palatines from the German Palatinate were largely unskilled and destitute. They were based initially in Southwark. By October 1709, an estimated 13,000 had arrived in England. Some moved on to Bolton and Liverpool, while others continued to Ireland, the West Indies and America.[33](#)

## AFRICANS 1555-1833 and onwards, and WEST INDIANS

Africans arrived in small numbers due to Britain's involvement in the slave trade. For example, **Elizabeth I** issued an open letter on 11 July 1596 when the population of Britain was **around 3 million**, which read:

*Her Majestie understanding that there are of late divers blackmoores brought into this realme, of which kinde of people there are already here to manie ... Her Majesty's pleasure therefore ys that those kinde of people should be sent forth of the lande, and for that purpose there ys direction given to this bearer Edwarde Banes to take of those blackmoores that in this last voyage under Sir Thomas Baskerville were brought into this realme **the number of tenn**, to be transported by him out of the realme. Wherein wee require you to be **aydinge and assyisting unto him as he shall have occacion, therof not to faile.***[34](#)

Again in 1601 she issued a proclamation which declared herself to be: **highly discontented to understand the great numbers of negars and Blackamoores which are crept into this realm ... who are fostered and relieved here to the great annoyance of her own liege people ... should be with all speed avoided and discharged out of this Her Majesty's dominions.**[35](#)



Numbers continued to remain small -- albeit *to manie* for **Elizabeth**.

However, towards the end of the 18th century, at the height of the slave trade, there was, relatively speaking, a large black population estimated variously between 10-20,000, mainly centred around London and the ports, in a total population in England and Wales of 9,000,000.[36](#)

It declined during the course of the 19th century, and according to David Killingray, census returns suggested the following estimated figures for Africans in the UK: 1911 - 4,540, 1921 - 4,940, 1931 - 5,202, 1951 - 11,000. Most came from West Africa, were male, and lived mainly in London or the other major ports of Liverpool, Bristol and Cardiff.[37](#) Killingray suspects the designation "African" was intended to include immigrants from the Caribbean and America.

*The West Indian Comes to England* states, "The movement of **West Indians** to the United Kingdom was unimportant until 1954 and it would appear that the number never exceeded 1,000 per year before 1951, with an average of 2,000 in 1952 and 1953. In 1954 the figure was 10,000 and in the three succeeding years rose to over 20,000 per year: 1955 - 24,473, 1956 - 26,441, 1957 - 22,473, 1958 - 16,511 ... The estimated West Indian population in the United Kingdom at 31st December, 1957 was 99,823."[38](#) The 1991 Census put the black population at 890,727.

### INDIANS AND CHINESE 1700 and onwards

There was no organised migration of **Indians** into Britain before WW2. However, tiny numbers of sailors, students, and professionals had been entering Britain since India's first contact with the Empire. Most returned after their mission was accomplished. As recently as 1939 the Indian population of **the City of Birmingham** was estimated at 100 -- that is, **one hundred**.[39](#) The total of both Indians and Pakistanis in Britain in 1955 was 10,700.[40](#) The 1991 Census put the number of Indians and Pakistanis at 840,255 and 476,555 respectively, and 162,835 Bangladeshis.

Most of the early **Chinese** arrived as seamen, after the treaties of Nanking in 1842 and Peking in 1860 opened up China to British trade. However, their population in Britain remained very small. In 1871 it was recorded as 207, and as 1,319 in 1911.[41](#) The 1991 Census put the number of Chinese in Britain at 156,938.

### EUROPEANS including GERMANS AND ITALIANS

Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, there was a steady trickle of people from all over Europe. In England and Wales, the 1871 census recorded 32,823 **Germans** out of an overall European-born population of 89,829, in a total English and Welsh population of approximately 33 million. Scotland's population at the time was around 3,350,000. In 1911 the English and Welsh census recorded 53,324 foreign-born Germans.[42](#)

In England and Wales, the 1871 census recorded an **Italian** population of 5,063 and by 1911 this number was 20,389. In Scotland, census returns for these years were 268 and 4,594 Italians respectively.[43](#)

### BELGIANS 1914-1918

Some 19,000 wounded Belgian soldiers arrived during the war. In addition, 240,000 Belgian refugees were scattered throughout Britain by 1919.[44](#) Virtually all were repatriated, and in 1921 there were 9,892 recorded in Britain.[45](#)

## POLES

In the 1931 census there were 44,462 people claiming Poland as their birthplace. Those who arrived during WW2 and stayed on, constitute the core of the present-day Polish community. In 1951 there were 162,339 Polish-born people in Britain. By 1971 the figure had dropped to 110,925.<sup>46</sup>

## POWs during WW2, and POST-WAR LABOUR RECRUITMENT

There were 334,000 German and Italian POWs employed in areas such as agriculture.<sup>47</sup> Some 15,700 Germans and 1,000 Italians remained after the war. The rest were repatriated.<sup>48</sup> After WW2, work-permit schemes recruited **Germans, Italians, Ukrainians, Austrians and Poles**, although not all remained. Kathleen Paul writes: "A conservative tally of the total number of aliens recruited under the Attlee government [*July 1945-October 1951*] yields around 345,000 ... By 1952, 110,000 work-permit applicants had been resident in the country for over four years and may be counted among those aliens who planned to make their home in postwar Britain."<sup>49</sup>

*We have not considered internal British Isles migration, for example, from Ireland, and we conclude at the point when immigration levels changed dramatically.*

- (1) Paul Johnson, *The Offshore Islanders: A History of the English People*, (London: Pheonix Paperback edition, 1992), pp. 19-20.
- (2) *Scotland's Story* magazine (Glasgow: First Press Publishing, 1999), no. 2, p. 22; no. 3, p. 19.
- (3) Guy de la Bedoyere, *Eagles Over Britannia: The Roman Army in Britain*, (Stroud, Glos.: Tempus Publishing Ltd, 2001), p. 25.
- (4) de la Bedoyere, *Eagles*, p. 17.
- (5) Johnson, *Offshore Islanders*, p. 23.
- (6) Johnson, *Offshore Islanders*, p. 25.
- (7) Leslie Alcock, *Arthur's Britain: History and Archaeology AD 367-634*, (London: Penguin Classic edition, 2001), pp. 278-279.
- (8) Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*, p. 279.
- (9) Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*, pp. 310-311.
- (10) Johnson, *Offshore Islanders*, p. 31.
- (11) Lloyd and Jennifer Laing, *Anglo-Saxon England*, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), pp. 55-56.
- (12) Johnson, *Offshore Islanders*, p. 62.
- (13) Archie Baron, "Hidden Exodus", *The Listener*, 1 November 1990, pp. 26-27.
- (14) Johnson, *Offshore Islanders*, p. 107.
- (15) Oliver Wright, "Leicester spurns its anti-Semitic founding father", *The Times*, 17 Jan. 2001, p. 3.
- (16) Commission for Racial Equality [CRE], *Roots of the Future: Ethnic Diversity in the Making of Britain*, (London: CRE, 1996), p. 9.
- (17) W. Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants to England*, (London: Frank Cass, 1969 edition), p. 70.
- (18) Johnson, *Offshore Islanders*, p. 108.
- (19) Michael Anderson, Ed., *British Population History: From the Black Death to the Present Day*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 74.
- (20) Paul Johnson, *A History of the Jews*, (London: Pheonix Paperback edition, 1993), pp. 275-278.
- (21) Geoffrey Alderman, *The Jewish Community in British Politics*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 4-5.
- (22) Alderman, *Jewish Community*, pp. 4, 7 and 9.

- (23) David A. Coleman, "UK Statistics on Immigration: Development and Limitations", *International Migration Review*, Vol. xxi, No. 4, Winter 1987, pp. 1138-1169.
- (24) Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 66-67.
- (25) "Where do we stand?", *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 September 2001, supplement sec., p. vi.
- (26) CRE, *Roots of the Future*, pp. 11-12.
- (27) CRE, *Roots of the Future*, p. 11.
- (28) Anderson, Ed., *British Population*, p. 75.
- (29) CRE, *Roots of the Future*, p. 16.
- (30) Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants to England*, p. 230.
- (31) CRE, *Roots of the Future*, p. 13.
- (32) Charles Arnold-Baker, *The Companion to British History*, (Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Longcross Press, 1996), p. 1021.
- (33) Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants to England*, pp. 250-253.
- (34) Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain*, (Concord, MA: Pluto Press, 1984), p. 10.
- (35) Fryer, *Staying Power*, p. 12.
- (36) Fryer, *Staying Power*, Ch. 4, p. 68.
- (37) David Killingray, Ed., *Africans in Britain*, (Ilford, Essex: Frank Cass and Co., 1994), p. 2.
- (38) S. K. Ruck, Ed., *The West Indian Comes to England: A Report Prepared for the Trustees of the London Parochial Charities by the Family Welfare Association*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1960), p. 51.
- (39) Rashmi Desai, *Indian Immigrants in Britain*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 3.
- (40) Desai, *Indian Immigrants*, p. 6.
- (41) Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society 1871-1971*, (London: Macmillan, 1988), p. 32.
- (42) Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, pp. 22-23.
- (43) Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 30.
- (44) Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 87.
- (45) Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 101.
- (46) Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 212.
- (47) Paul, *Whitewashing Britain*, p. 67.
- (48) Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 211.
- (49) Paul, *Whitewashing Britain*, p. 78.

# Flemish Migrations

Dutch-speaking people, including our Flemish ancestors, have been mobile for centuries. Their historic migrations might even be considered a genetic characteristic or, at least, the strong survival instinct of residents of a territory once called the "Fatal Avenue" by Charles de Gaulle (Holmes 1992).

Here, invaders from all directions, and an always determined - and often demanding - organized religion, kept the people on their toes, and seemingly with bags packed, ready to move out at any time. Natural flooding of their land and occasional periods of local overpopulation also caused emigration. So many left periodically, that local authorities even begged foreign governments (eg, Belgium to Canada after WWI) not to accept any more Flemish (or Walloon) immigrants. That is because - for centuries - Flemings were recognized as desirable, reliable, skilled, and clever workers. They made excellent citizens, and they very quickly adapted to local conditions.

While referred to as religious 'refugees' by some English writers (eg, as ardent Calvinists fleeing extreme Spanish Catholicism), many primarily emigrated from their homeland for reasons of better economic opportunity. For example, the Protestant Flemish drainage workers/agricultural laborers in the 17th C Fens were *invited* by the English Crown, they were granted privileges, they were seen as willing workers needed in England. Naturally, they were not always welcomed with open arms by all established residents (Lindley 1982, Overend 1889, Wilson 1959). Likewise, economic security was certainly the stimulus for mass migrations from Flanders to the Northern Netherlands and elsewhere in the 16th C (Lucassen and de Vries 2001).

The history of Flemish immigration likely precedes the Roman Period in Britain (Cox 2005). This long, and strong, association between the English and Flemish peoples persists to the present day. Flanders, once the key component of the Southern (Spanish) Netherlands, and now known as the northern part of Belgium (or as part of the 'Flemish Region'), remains proud of both its own unique heritage and the long, mostly positive, association with England. Undoubtedly, there are also hundreds of thousands of English people today - if not millions - equally proud of the Flemish blood in their veins.

Following are a few highlights of Flemish history, particularly with reference to migration (Please also see the **Flanders** and **References** Sections of this Journal as well as the websites listed below for additional or related details):

- Perhaps the most notable Flemish fact to that time was that about one-third of the invading Norman army of 1066 came from Flanders (Murray 1985). The Flemish mercenaries were there as a result of a marriage arrangement by William the Conqueror for a niece and a Flemish count. Many Flemings stayed in England after the Conquest.
- One of the most enduring Flemish facts in England is related to the immigration of skilled Flemish weavers and textile workers to major centres such as London, Norwich and Colchester from the 11th to the 16th C. Often called 'Dutch' because of language spoken, these Flemings introduced superior sheep-farming methods for the wool trade, and they helped organize and establish the English guild system using the Flemish model.
- Flemish pioneer land drainers were known in various parts of Europe (eg, in France, Italy, Russia) as well as in Eastern England. Smiles (1887) credits a Flemish vanguard of about 200 families with the early drainage near the Isle of Axholme in North Lincolnshire/Yorkshire beginning in 1626.
- Skilled Flemish agricultural laborers, textile workers and craftsmen also established themselves in the Northern Netherlands, Germany, France, and in North America during the 16th to 18th C. As usual, their migration was often encouraged by war and economic hardships induced by religious bias.

- Perhaps Wilson (1959) has best summarized the place of Flemish immigrants in the long history of newcomers to England: "Our first immigrants (except for a handful of Jews) were Flemish... Until the great Huguenot inrush of the 1680's our refugees (sic) came mainly from the Low Countries and the majority of them were Flemings."
- Peters (1985) has described in detail the three significant waves of Flemish immigration to England, particularly for individuals from the area once known as 'Walloon Flanders.' These periodic surges in migration occurred during (1) 1560-1575, (2) 1580-1600, and (3) 1625-1635.

### **Additional Reading:**

Text origin : <http://pacificcoast.net/~deboo/flemings/pages/Migrations.html>

Annexion Française. The annexation of Flemish territory by France 1659-1713.

Interactive maps. [www.cr-npdc.fr/reperes/france/histoire/05/05-04.htm](http://www.cr-npdc.fr/reperes/france/histoire/05/05-04.htm)

BBC Legacies. Immigration and Emigration. The Flemish colonists in Wales.

[www.bbc.co.uk/legacies/immig\\_emig/wales/w\\_sw/index.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/legacies/immig_emig/wales/w_sw/index.shtml)

Cox, R. 2005. Our kinsfolk in the Netherlands - always closely associated with Britain.

[www.ensignmessage.com/archives/kinsfolk.html](http://www.ensignmessage.com/archives/kinsfolk.html).

Embassy of Belgium in the United Kingdom. About Belgium. Anglo-Belgian relations.

[www.diplobel.org/uk/pages/country/anglo-belgian%20relations.htm](http://www.diplobel.org/uk/pages/country/anglo-belgian%20relations.htm)

Fiske, J. 1902 (2004). The Dutch and Quaker colonies in America. II Dutch influence upon England.

HTML by Dinsmore Documentation. [www.dinsdoc.com/fiske-2-2.htm](http://www.dinsdoc.com/fiske-2-2.htm)

Flanders. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/flanders>

Hardie-Stoffelen, A. 2005. The Flemish influence in Scotland. <http://amg1.net/scotland/fleminfl.html>

History of the Low Countries. The Netherlands before the Burgundians, 1340 - 1536. (NB map of Flanders) [www.zum.de/whkmla/region/lowcountries/nethpreburg.html](http://www.zum.de/whkmla/region/lowcountries/nethpreburg.html)

History of the Spanish Netherlands, 1600-1713. (NB series of maps 1648 - 1699)

[www.zum.de/whkmla/region/lowcountries/spanneth.html](http://www.zum.de/whkmla/region/lowcountries/spanneth.html)

McConnachie, A. 2002. A history of immigration to Britain.

[www.sovereignty.org.uk/features/articles/immig.html](http://www.sovereignty.org.uk/features/articles/immig.html)

West Flanders Genealogical Records: <http://www.vrijwilligersrab.be>

# Flemish settlement in the U.K.

ORIGIN : <http://forums.skadi.net/showthread.php?t=96170>

## Wales:

*How refugees from Flanders (Belgium) found themselves creating a little England beyond Wales in Pembrokeshire.*

Back in the 12th century, Flanders - a region of Belgium - had been devastated by floods and was becoming dangerously overpopulated. Many Flemings escaped to England. Initially welcomed, they soon began to irritate their hosts.

Henry I's solution to this little local difficulty was to shift them en masse to a remote farming settlement in south Pembrokeshire.

It was a move that created a divide in Pembrokeshire between the native Welsh and the incoming Flemish/English that exists to this day. The legacy of 12th century Flemish incomers is 'Little England beyond Wales'.

Castles were built - the Landsker Line stretched from Newgale to Amroth. The Chronicle of the Welsh Princes records "a certain folk of strange origins and customs occupy the whole cantref of Rhôs the estuary of the river Cleddau, and drove away all the inhabitants of the land". It was almost ethnic cleansing.

The influx of Flemings was so great the Welsh language was eradicated south of the divide. Flemish gradually gave way to English but with a distinctive dialect and accent - traces of which can still be heard today.

The region has kept its anglicised culture and sense of separation ever since. Until 19th century it was the only English-speaking area of Wales away from the English border.

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/history/s...flanders.shtml>

Since the accession of William I many Flemings had settled in England. They did not get on well with the English, and so Henry I moved them to South Pembroke, where they would be useful in helping to keep the Welsh in check. This is of course the beginning of 'Little England beyond Wales'. It is probable that the English speaking people on the south side of the Gower Peninsula were settled there about the same time and for the same reason.

(True also of Kidwelly as its first Charter has been dated to be at the latest 1114.) W.J.M.

**(1107 Brut y Tywysogion)**

**A CERTAIN nation, not recognized in respect of origin and manners, and unknown as to where it had been concealed in the island for a number of years, was sent by King Henry into the country of Dyved. And that nation seized the whole cantred of Rhos, near the efflux of the river called Cleddyw, having driven off the people completely. That nation, as it is said, came from Flanders, the country which is situated nearest to the sea of the Britons, the whole region having been reduced to disorder, and bearing no produce, owing to the sand cast into the land by the sea. At last, when they could get no space to inhabit, as the sea had poured over the maritime land, and the mountains were full of people . . . so that nation craved of King Henry and besought him to assign a place where they might dwell. And then they were sent into Rhos, expelling from thence the proprietary inhabitants, who thus lost their own country and place from that time 'til the present day.**

**(Giraldus Cambrensis, Itinerary, Book I, Chapter II)**



**The inhabitants of this province who derived their origin from Flanders were sent to live in these parts by Henry I, King of the English; they are a people brave and robust, and ever most hostile to the Welsh with whom they wage war; a people, I say, most skilled in commerce and woollen manufactures; a people eager to seek gain by land or sea in spite of difficulty or danger; a hardy race equally ready for the plough or the sword; a people happy and brave if Wales, as it should be, had been dear to the heart of its kings, and not so often experienced the vindictive resentment and ill treatment of its rulers.**

Extracted from "A Source-Book of Welsh History", p.67-68 by Mary Salmon, M.A., Oxford Univ. Press 1927.

## England:

...Before Caesar's conquest of Britain, there were Low Dutch people who had immigrated into Britain from Flanders, because of floods. The Frisians conducted most of Britain's import and export trade before the invasions of the Anglo-Saxons in the fifth and sixth centuries. In the eighth century, England was a centre of learning. Some missionaries, like Willibrod and Boniface, worked among the Frisians. Then in the ninth and tenth centuries, the learned people of England - Alcuin among them - were driven by the attacks of the Danes to the Continent. In the latter half of the tenth century, the foreign trade of London laid the foundations of its future commercial greatness. Because of its relations with the merchants of the Dutch towns of Tiel and Dordrecht - the greatest commercial centres of that time - England's prosperity increased.

Following the Norman Conquest, there came many Flemish weavers who had a large share in the development of England. Dutch immigrants started sheep-farming, which was to contribute so much to England's early greatness. The Flemish type of industrial organisation inspired the formation of the English guilds of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the twelfth century Dutch merchants had their own private wharves in London and were members of the Guildhall. At the time of the Conquest, many Anglo-Saxon refugees settled in the Low Countries. Time and again, Dutch soldiers have fought on English soil, where some of their descendants now are. In 1165, for example, Henry II fought the Welsh with Flemish and Brabant troops.

<http://pacificcoast.net/~deboo/flemi...igrations.html>

## Scotland:

Indeed; delving further into it, it seems the Flemish had quite a disproportionate influence on the British Isles, especially in the "Celtic" regions. Here is some additional information on settlement in Scotland (as well as the origins of some prominent clans).

For the Anglo-Flemish, the half century between the Norman Conquest of 1066 and the witnessing of that Glasgow Inquisition which brought them into Scottish affairs in 1116 must have seemed like the summit of the world. After the awe-inspiring repulse of the Vikings by their fathers in Flanders, they had gone on in their own time to reach and sustain a pinnacle of achievement never known before in the history of a nation. Nationhood itself was a very young concept. Family bonds, loyalty to a liege lord, be he count, duke or king, the honour of a sacred cause, adherence to the chivalry code - these things were what bound men together, with national borders apt to be secondary to kinship, perhaps because they were so unfixed. Those Flemings who had followed Count Eustace II of Boulogne to England in 1066 and received their territories there from William of Normandy, were now being offered large tracts of Scotland because their Lady had become that country's Queen...

<http://amg1.net/scotland/flemfam.htm>

For my own part, I can contribute this photo of a Ford Maddox Brown mural in Manchester Town Hall. Our civic fathers in a more nationalistic and respectful age saw fit to include it as one of 12 scenes that decorated the Great Hall;

<http://img360.imageshack.us/img360/5503/20080816silverdale0384qr7.jpg>

**Berrocscir**

Monday, August 25th, 2008, 03:44 PM

Several sources I've seen say that during the middle ages flemish travellers in the Essex/kent Thames estery area could make themselves adequately understood.

## FLEMISH DESCENT OF THE SCOTTISH LINDSAYS

This article was featured in the March 2002 Newsletter of the Australian Lindsay Society. Ms. Bostle used the "Lives of the Lindsays" publication and the research report released by Ms. Beryl Platts to the Lindsay Society of Scotland as her source material. The article is well written and provides a very concise and clear path of the descent of the Scottish Lindsays from their Flemish origin.

If any reviewer of this article has a comment and particularly a difference of opinion, which can be documented, please send these thoughts to [Ron Lindsay](#)

\*\*\*\*\*

### Historical Feature – the Early Lindsays

The Rt. Hon Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, K.T., P.C. recommended Beryl Platts' research as being the more accurate account of his family's origins. The paper argues its theory the Lindsays originated from Flanders - very well indeed. For those historians who need the references and documentation, you can obtain a copy of Mrs. Platts' research paper from the Clan Lindsay Society in Scotland.

This article is the story of the early Lindsays based on Beryl Platts' work. I hope it provides a clear picture of the origin of the Lindsays. You may need to keep the 'family tree' handy - it is a useful aid to the relationships between the various branches of the Lindsays.

### Flanders

The great Charlemagne provided the northern part of Europe with its nobility. Charlemagne's children married his civil and military administrators. Those families retained some of that responsibility and power into future generations, giving a structure to the society of those distant times.

The Carolingian families were found in the comtés north of the Ile de France, east of Normandy, and west of Germany. The Carolingians were also found in Flanders. At this time, Flanders included territories like Brabant and Hainaut which, though theoretically independent, were in practice part of the political ambience of the Flemish counts, and for long periods under their direct control.

Flemish law forbade noble men and women to marry outside their own class. Many Carolingian families married distant cousins and the like. This law followed the Flemish nobility wherever they were. Its effects were especially apparent in Scotland where all the non-Celtic aristocracy were related.

The descendants of the Counts of Flanders followed two lines. The primary line, the descendants of the Counts of Flanders, arrived in England in the person of **Matilda of Flanders** (granddaughter of Count Baldwin IV of Flanders and Ogive of Luxembourg), wife to William the Conqueror, Duke of Normandy.

The secondary line, the descendants of the Lords of Alost, arrived in England when the sons of **Ralph, Lord of Alost** and Gisela of Luxembourg (Ogive's sister) accompanied William, Duke of Normandy.

## The Counts of Alost

**Count Arnulf of Flanders** made a pact with Emperor Otto I, persuading Otto to retire from Ghent during the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The defence of Ghent became the responsibility of Flanders.

A new comté called Alost was formed as a buffer between Flanders and the Lorraine border. Alost was given to Arnulf's nephew, **Ralph** (son of his brother Ethelwulf, who had acquired his name from a Saxon mother – Elstrudis, King Alfred's daughter). Ralph died in 962.

Under the Flemish regime every man who ruled a comté had his device, unique to himself and his land. The device passed with the inheritance to his heir at the moment of succession.

The Counts of Alost bore *sable, a chief argent*. The black and silver tones, which these words denote, came to be understood as the colours marking the region around Ghent.

Ralph's son, **Baldwin** succeeded him as Count of Alost. Baldwin was a vassal of the Emperor, a duty that would continue for several generations. It was not an unusual arrangement; many Flemish counts held more than one allegiance.

The Lords of Alost were among the first six peers created when the peerage of Flanders was formed in the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. They had a known descent by at least three lines from Charlemagne and were regarded as the noblest of the nobilitas.

The comté was held by **Ralph, Lord of Alost**, between 1031 AD and 1052 AD. Ralph married Gisela, daughter of the Count of Luxembourg (whose sister Ogive was married to Count Baldwin IV of Flanders). Ralph's children were first cousins to William the Conqueror's wife, Matilda of Flanders.

Ralph and Gisela are known to have had at least four sons and several daughters. The known sons were:

- Baldwin I, the heir to Alost
- Ralph II, who became Chamberlain to the Count of Flanders
- Gilbert, who accompanied William the Conqueror to England and received land in 14 counties as his Domesday reward, and
- Ragenfridus.

**Baldwin I** of Alost was likely to have accompanied William the Conqueror to England in 1066 AD. He would have brought a substantial army of his own men, and men of Brabant. Baldwin I died in 1082 AD, too early for Domesday rewards.

**Baldwin II** of Alost (sometimes called the Fat") was killed in Nicaea in 1097 AD while following his leader and kinsman, Godfrey de Bouillon, on the First Crusade. Albert of Aix noted that Baldwin was "carried away by his ardour and the wish to reach the walls, had his head pierced by an arrow and died in combat" during the assault on Nicaea.

**Baldwin III** of Alost died in 1127 AD from the effects of a head wound received during the struggles for the Flemish comital succession. He left no legitimate male heirs, and the heritage, which should have passed to his daughter, **Beatrice**, was annexed by the family's black sheep, **Ivan**, who succeeded him as Lord of Alost.

The seizure of Beatrice's patrimony caused a feud between other members of the family and their senior branch, the Counts of Guines, which was to last for many years and lead to Ivan's murder. Ivan's only son, **Thierry** (sometimes called Dirk), who married the daughter of the Count of Hainaut, brought some sort of natural retribution to the situation by dying in 1166 AD without heirs.

The county, its revenues and its titles were withdrawn into the treasury of the Counts of Flanders. However, the arms of the comté, a black shield with a silver chief (a broad band running along the top) were taken by a cadet branch of the house who had been castellans of Ghent and Advocates of the abbey church of St. Peter at Ghent since the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

## The Norman Conquest

**Ralf de Limesi** was born in Alost about 1040 AD. He had a small Norman manor in Limesi, on the north side of the Seine valley. He was the Chamberlain, to the Flemish Court. Ralph de Limesi left a son, **Alan**, in Warwickshire and heirs of unknown name in Limesi.

Ralph de Limesi (or Ralph de Ghent or Ralph de Lindsay) came to England with William the Conqueror in 1066 AD. He received Domesday estates in Somerset, Devonshire, Hertfordshire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire (his most important holdings), Nottinghamshire, Essex, Norfolk and Bedingfield, Suffolk as tenant in chief.

Ralph's coat of arms was *gules, an eagle displayed or*.

Ralph de Limesi and his wife, Hawisa, founded Hertford Priory and they were generous benefactors to the Priory thereafter. Ralph died in mid-1090's in the monastery of St Albans.

**Alan de Limesi** built a church dedicated to St Andrew at Collyweston in Northamptonshire.

**Aleonora de Limesi**, Ralph's great-granddaughter and heiress married Sir David de Lindsay of Crawford a distant relation. Her sister, **Basilia de Limesi**, married the Flemish knight, Sir Hugh de Odingsels.

**Gilbert de Ghent (de Lindsay)**, son of Ralph, Lord of Alost, married Alice de Montfort sur Risle, a distant relative.

Amaury de Valenciennes, Count of Valenciennes, was in conflict with the Count of Flanders during the first decade of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Amaury de Valenciennes fled to France where he became the first Amaury de Montfort. Valenciennes was seized by Flanders during the conflict. This effectively removed the comté from Hainaut control and was a source of contention for some time.

Hainaut's Countess Richelde married Baldwin of Mons (afterwards Baldwin VI of Flanders) a few years before the Norman Conquest of England. This ended the contention about Valenciennes between Hainaut and Flanders. The marriage of Gilbert (cousin to the Count of Flanders) and Alice (descendant of Amaury de Montfort) also had a healing diplomatic significance.

Knights such as Ralph de Limesi had probably received their lands from the Montforts at the time of Gilbert and Alice's marriage as part of the general reconciliation. Hainaut had ruled Alost itself before the Flemish seizure of Valenciennes.

Gilbert de Ghent accompanied William, Duke of Normandy, on his expedition to England. Gilbert took an active part in the subjugation of England: the city of York was placed under his command in 1068 AD, together with William Malet. In 1069 AD, an invading force captured the city, killed the Norman garrison and only spared Gilbert and William for their ransom.

Gilbert de Ghent brought the Alost colours (*sable, a chief argent*) to England in 1066 AD, and he may have had them carried in front of his own troops there. The family devices were an important part of their Flemish culture and provided a strong sense of identity in a new country.

An adaptation of the Alost coat-of-arms was used in the great priory at Bridlington, Yorkshire: *per pale, sable and argent* with the unusual addition of three Bs for Bridlington.

He received 172 English manors; most of them in Lincolnshire (Gilbert was the first Earl of Lincoln) and Nottinghamshire, through the shires of York, Derby, Huntingdon, Leicester and Cambridge also provided extensive estates.

Gilbert and Alice made their chief home at Folkingham, near Grantham. Their children include (there were others, unnamed by chroniclers):

- Gilbert II , Hugh , Walter I , Robert I , Ralph III , Henry , Emma and Agnes

Gilbert died in 1095 AD. (*There are many more stories about Gilbert's activities after the Conquest. Unfortunately, we do not have the space to include them in this article. - Ed*)

**Gilbert de Ghent II** was not well known. He may have been a victim of ill health or he may have spent most of his time in Flanders, helping to hold the comté of Alost for his family during the First Crusade and the troubled years, which followed the death in that campaign of his cousin, Baldwin II. He left no heirs.

**Hugh de Ghent**, Gilbert's second son, inherited the Norman lands of Montfort-sur-Risle from his mother. He became Hugh IV of Montfort-sur-Risle. Hugh married Adeline de Beaumont.

**Walter de Ghent (or de Lindsay)**, Gilbert de Ghent's third son, was married twice. His first wife is virtually unknown; his second wife was Maud of Brittany. Walter accompanied David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of Alexander I, to Scotland to claim his throne. Walter de Lindsay settled at Tweedside, from Earlstoun to Caddonlea.

Walter de Lindsay had two sons by his first wife: **Walter II** and **William**

Walter de Lindsay was a witness to the very important Inquisitio into the See of Glasgow, around 1116 AD. Other witnesses include Matilda the Countess, Count David's nephew, William, Osbert de Arden (a Warwickshire man who lived near Ralph de Limesi) and Alan de Percy, husband of Emma de Ghent (Walter's sister).

Count David (future king of Scotland) signed a charter in 1120 AD, founding the Abbey of Selkirk. The signature of Galterio de Lyndeseia (Walter de Lindsay) also appears on the Charter – the first to be found in Scotland of the great name of Lindsay.

Walter de Ghent inherited the Lincolnshire estates late in life and somewhat unexpectedly. Walter married Maud of Brittany around 1120 AD. They had three sons: **Gilbert III** – a minor when his father died, **Robert** and **Geoffrey**

Walter and Maud lived at Bridlington, Yorkshire.

During the civil war (1135 AD to 1152 AD) Walter supported Stephen, whose wife, Matilda, Countess of Boulogne, was his kinswoman (Gilbert de Ghent's great-aunt, Adele, married the father of Count Eustace I of Boulogne). Walter participated in the Battle of the Standard. He supported the very moving appeal made by Robert de Bruce to David, King of Scotland, "not to bring war between men who were kinsmen and comrades". Bruce had a son on the opposing (Scottish) side, and so did Walter de Ghent – for Walter de Lindsay II was by now established with his family at Ercildon.

Walter de Ghent died 1139 AD.

The Scottish estates passed to Walter de Lindsay II, who was by then married to a kinswoman of the Scottish Queen.

The children of Walter de Ghent's marriage to Maud of Brittany enjoyed the English estates without conflict of allegiance. The possession of the Lincolnshire parishes of Fordington and Ulseby by Sir William Lindsay of Lamberton at the start of the 13<sup>th</sup> century shows that at least some of the Ghent heritage passed to the Lindsays of Molesworth, who were also the Lindsays of Ercildon.

## England

**Gilbert de Ghent III**, Lord of Lindsay, Earl of Lincoln (son of Walter de Ghent and Maud of Brittany), was born in 1120 AD and died in 1156 AD. He married Rohese de Clare. His daughter, Alice de Ghent, married Simon de Senlis III, a grandson of Queen Maud of Scotland, and a distant relative.

**Gilbert de Ghent VI, of Folkingham** (no longer calling himself Earl of Lincoln) died without male heirs in 1297 AD. Gilbert married Lora de Baliol, a kinswoman of King John Baliol.

**Robert de Ghent I** (son of Gilbert de Ghent and Alice de Montfort sur Risle) was Chancellor to King Stephen. He died in 1153 AD.

**Robert de Ghent II** (son of Walter de Ghent and Maud of Brittany) married twice. His first wife was Alice, his second, Gunmor. He had one son, **Gilbert de Ghent IV**, who was a minor when Robert died.



**Ralph de Ghent III** (son of Gilbert de Ghent and Alice de Montfort sur Risle) married Ethelreda, the granddaughter of Gospatrick, Earl of Northumberland. It is not known if Ralph had any immediate heirs; descendants of the great Gospatrick all took Saxon or Scandinavian names. William de Lindsay of Scotland eventually claimed the estates.

**Ragenfridus de Lindsay** (youngest son of Ralf, Lord of Alost and Gisela of Luxembourg) appears to have accompanied Gilbert to England. He may also have been known as Angodus de Lindsay. Angodus de Lindsay may have left sons, but they would have been called by the name of his chief manor, which is unknown to us.

## Scotland

Henry de Ghent was also known as Henry Erskine in Scotland. He took the Alost arms, reversed, to Scotland: *argent, a pale sable*. Henry Erskine's device came closest to the original Alost pattern out of those families that took the colours to Scotland.

**Walter de Lindsay II** married the sister of Walter L'Engleis (Walter the English), a granddaughter of Seier de Seton and thus a cousin to the Queen. Molesworth manor in Huntingdonshire probably came to Walter II as part of his wife's dowry. Molesworth remained in the possession of the Lindsays of Ercildon (Earlston) thereafter.

Walter de Lindsay II brought to Scotland as his coat of arms: *gules, an eagle displayed or*. The symbol, *an eagle displayed*, was the symbol of the Holy Roman Emperor. The colours, the *gules* and *or* of Boulogne, reversed conveyed a compliment to Scotland's Queen Maud, Walter's cousin. Queen Maud was the great-niece of Count Eustace II of Boulogne and a granddaughter of Count Lambert of Lens.

The unchanged Alost arms were not available to him as Walter de Ghent was a third son and Gilbert de Ghent a second son. The *Eagle* reflected Walter's Charlemagnic descent – something else he shared with the Scottish Queen. The *Eagle* was a badge of honour for the lords of the Imperial Marches. The eventual spread of the symbol far beyond the homelands of Alost meant the *Eagle* lost its personal significance. There was also the difficulty of a divided loyalty, where a continental army following a similar symbol might not be an ally of Scotland. The *Eagle* symbol was eventually abandoned.

About 1159 AD Walter de Lindsay II granted the church of Earlstown in Lauderdale to the Abbey of Kelso – for the soul of Walter the English, his brother-in-law. **Walter the English** was the English-born son of Walter the Fleming, of Wahull, (Bedfordshire) and Seton (East Lothian). He too was a grandson of Count Lambert of Lens; he was also nephew and protector of the Countess Judith, and cousin and guardian of her daughter, Scotland's Queen Maud.

Around 1159 AD, William de Lindsay of Ercildun (Earlston) made a gift of a church to Chicksands Priory, Bedfordshire, for the health of his father and for the souls of his mother and his kinsman, Walter the English.

William de Lindsay had three known children:

- Sir Walter Lindsay of Lamberton
- Sir David Lindsay of Crawford
- Sir William Lindsay of Luffness

Sir David Lindsay of Crawford married Aleonora de Limesi, great-granddaughter and heiress of Ralph de Limesi about 1200 AD.

In 1202 AD, **Sir Walter de Lindsay III of Lamberton** made a gift of two churches (Fordington and Ulseby) to the English Abbey of Croyland in Lincolnshire (where Queen Maud's father was buried). Hugh, Earl of Chester, had held Fordington at Domesday. Through his descendants it became part of the earldom of Lincoln. Ulseby was one of the Domesday manors of Gilbert de Ghent.



Sir Walter Lindsay III of Lamberton had two known children:

- **William Lindsay of Lamberton**, who married Ada, sister of King John Baliol, in 1266 AD.
- **Christiana Lindsay**, who married Ingleram de Coucy (a distant cousin), son of Count Arnold III of Guines, in 1280 AD. Henry IV, King of France, is an heir of this line.

The great-grandson of William Lindsay of Luffness, Sir Alexander Lindsay, made a change to the family arms around 1297 AD. On a seal of his, bearing that date and attached to a document giving a surety for Robert de Bruce, the *eagle displayed* had been displaced by a *fess chequy, argent and azure* – an adaptation of the Stewart device, and the present-day arms of Crawford.

The chequered device came down to both the houses of Lindsay and Stewart from the mighty house of Vermandois. The Vermandois were descended from Charlemagne's second son, Pepin, King of Italy. The first Lindsay connection to the house of Vermandois was through the Lords of Alost. However, there were other more recent connections:

- Count Hugh IV de Montfort sur Risle's marriage to Adeline de Beaumont, daughter of Isabel de Vermandois;
- the marriage, about 1154 AD, of Gundrada de Warenne (daughter of Elizabeth de Vermandois by her second husband) to William de Lancaster;
- the great-great-granddaughter of William de Lancaster, Alice, married William de Lindsay;

Gundrada's sister, Adeline, was the wife of Prince Henry of Scotland – son of Queen Maud and King David I of Scotland. Thus, the Lindsays had yet another shared descent with the royal family.

The Vermandois *fess chequy*, its tinctures different but pattern unmistakable, would come to speak as loudly as anything could in those non-literate days of kinship with the Stewarts.

Sir Alexander's son, **David, Lord of Crawford**, made another change. He kept the *eagle* as a single supporter and quartered the *fess chequy* with the arms of his wife's father, Sir Alexander de Abernethy. Those arms were *or, a lion rampant gules, debriused by a ribbon sable*. The Abernethy bearing was the exact replica of one borne in the 12<sup>th</sup> century by the Flemish noble house of Zottegem, which was one of the lordships of Alost – indicating a further relationship.

In spite of the change on the shield, the Lindsay family's crest would remain the head and wings of a swan – that most evocative of the symbols of Boulogne.

# Rutherford History

## Scotland - Roxburghshire

The earliest accounts of the name Rutherfurd/Rutherford in Scotland come from the 12th century. Robertus dominus de Rodyrforde witnessed a charter by David I to Gervase de Rydal, in or about 1140. In Scotland the Rutherfurds/Rutherfords are a large extended family or in the true meaning of the word, "a clan" or group of "near kin" or "children". Our great fortune as a family is that we have such an old and relatively well-documented family history. The Rutherfurd/Rutherford name has been in written use for over 800 years in Scotland and predates that by two centuries in West Flanders. The Flemish origins of the name must surely account for the great number of Rutherfurd/Rutherford spelling variations. In his book, "The Rutherfords of Britain, a history and guide" Kenneth Rutherford Davis lists over 300 spellings for our surname. Today Rutherford, Rutherfurd and Rutherfoord are the three most common permutations.

Most of the 'origin stories' for the Rutherfords are a quaint form of Scottish fiction called "pseudo-Celtic mythology" i.e. "ancient stories" that have little basis in truth. The most common of these is the story of a man named Ruther who showed a Scottish king the way to ford the River Tweed. Another fable is much like it. King Ruther, Rhydderch Hael, King of Strathclyde, was fleeing a hostile army when he crossed the Tweed at "Ruther's Ford". The story of King Ruther's queen is the most common source of connection between King Ruther and the Rutherfurd family patron saint, Saint Kentigern. The legend says that King Ruther's queen was once unfaithful to King Ruther and she gave her lover a ring that had been a present to her from the King. While walking by the River Clyde, the King came across a young man sleeping on the riverbank. He immediately recognized his wife's ring on his finger and, tearing it from the gigolo's hand, he threw it into the river. Later that day, he insisted that his wife produce the ring as a sign of fidelity. His queen was frantic and turned to St. Kentigern for help. The two prayed together and, at that very moment, the queen's servants, who were fishing for dinner, caught a large salmon in the Clyde. In its mouth, they found the ring! King Ruther's command was thus satisfied and he was obliged to accept his wife's innocence. This story took place on the present day site of the city of Glasgow and that city's heraldic arms commemorates this story with a statue of St. Kentigern, a golden ring and a salmon.

Another fable, with variations, describes an English army which foolishly abandoned a strong position on the heights above the Tweed to attack a Scottish force on the opposite bank. The English attempted to cross the river and were defeated. The victorious Scots are said to have named the place "Rue the Ford", to commemorate the disaster. Lastly, a possible etymology; "hryther" meaning "oxen or cattle" and "ford" meaning a river crossing in Old English. However, there is no evidence that the Rutherfurds were in Britain when Old English was in still in use. All of these stories concerning the supposed origins of the Rutherfurd/Rutherford name are from an impossibly early period of Scottish history. The name Rutherfurd is much more likely the Flemish compound word "ridder" or "rudder" a horse mounted knight and "voorde" a ford. Hence, Ruddervoorde, or "a knight's river crossing".

## The House of Erembald - from West Flanders to Scotland

The Rutherfurds, like their cousins the Douglasses, most likely trace their ancestry back to West Flanders and to the powerful Erembald family. Other families in Britain who share these roots are the Ypres [Douglas], Furnes, Harnes, Lucy, Hacket and Winter families. The political events of the 11th and 12th centuries within Flanders were to change the lives of these families and push them down a migratory path which began in today's Belgium and ended up in Scotland, Ireland, America, Canada, New Zealand and Australia.

The noble families of Flanders were jealous descendants of Charlemagne until the coastal invasions by the Vikings began and military resources in Flanders were stretched dangerously thin. During the ninth and tenth centuries, Europe, and particularly West Flanders, were ravaged by the Vikings. Traditional tactics were insufficient to stop these raiders and a new "non-noble" class of knight was born, the 'ministeriales'. The ministeriales manned cavalry units throughout Flanders, thus solving the problem of fast response to Viking assaults and creating a new social class.

At this time we see the rise of a new class of family, the Karls. The Karls did not belong to the nobility - in fact, they despised feudalism and were proud self-made freemen. They were the hereditary chiefs of the commercial guilds and free members of the Flemish burghs which were later copied in Scotland. The hamlet of Ruddervoorde, the origin of the modern name of Rutherford/Rutherford, was part of the political and military structure of the beautiful city of Bruges [Brugge]. Cities like Bruges had a mixed population; noblemen and freeman merchants who ran the powerful guilds. David I of Scotland used these free burghs as the model for Jedburgh, Roxburgh and Berwick on the Scottish Borders. The most important social distinction in a burgh was not between nobles and merchants, or between merchants and craftsmen, but between those who held the status of burghers and those who didn't. The Ruddervoordes enjoyed a unique position as freemen, burghers and ministeriales.

Many of the maternal lines of the Erembalds were noble and here lay the problem in future years. The nobles of Flanders were required to prove their noble descent through both the paternal and maternal lines. At Gent, Courtrai, Saint-Omer, Bergues, Bourbourg and Ypres, the comital and castellan families came from nobles who had held estates and public authority in these areas since the establishment of the Baldwins as Counts of Flanders. At Veurne, however, power was held by the Erembalds, who were ministeriales from the Veurne region. The Erembalds of Veurne who were rewarded for helping Robert I in his conquest of Flanders in 1071. After that, the Erembald's rights as freemen were acknowledged throughout Flanders, their chiefs were received at court on an equal footing with the nobles, they occupied high positions in the church and state and their daughters were married to feudal lords. The most powerful of these Karl families was the House of Erembald.

Following the death of Robert I things began to change for the worse for the Erembalds. Charles "the good" became the new count of Flanders just when the Erembalds had reached a political and economic zenith. After 1091 Bertulf, a member of the Erembald clan was both the chancellor of the county, and the provost of the wealthy church of St. Donatian at Bruges. Although Charles had been in Flanders for some forty years he was surprised when he was informed that the Erembalds were freeborn but not noble. Unwisely, he decided to disgrace them. It seems clear that the status of the Erembalds was an open secret among the other

powerful families of Bruges and that none was particularly upset by it until Charles raised the issue. Indeed, after discovering the problem with the Erembalds, Charles summoned his councilors, many of whom were related to the Erembalds which meant that there were other non-nobles in the Count's council and Charles knew it. Charles was bent upon reducing the Erembald's status and the Erembalds were having none of it.

In 1127 a feud broke out between Provost Bertulf Erembald and Count Charles. The Count burnt Bertulf's nephew's house to the ground. Borsiard, Bertulf's nephew and others, plotted with the Erembald clan and assassinated Charles on March 2, 1127 - Ash Wednesday. A week later citizens of Bruges led by Gervaise de Praet besieged the castle, and barons swore to support them in a league. King Louis VI of France summoned the barons to Arras, and they elected William Clito as count. Count William granted charters to towns and had Bertulf Erembald put to death. A siege of Ypres captured William of Ypres, and Borsiard was left to die nailed to a tree. England's king Henry I opposed William and sent money to oppose his cause. Thierry d' Alsace gained the support of the people at Ghent by promising to support the privileges of the Burghers. In March 1128 Count Thierry d' Alsace was elected count by the barons and burghers at Bruges. France's Louis still supported William Clito, and a partisan struggle raged in Flanders until William was killed in the siege of Aalst in June 1128. Count Thierry visited the towns and was invested by the kings of France and England with the fiefs and benefices that Charles had held.

Desiderius Hacket, Chatelain of Bruges, was head of the house of Erembalds. His brother Bertulph was Provost of St. Donatian's, hereditary chancellor and chief of the Count's household. Also under suspicion for the assassination of Count Charles, Desiderius Hacket and his young son Robert, escaped from the tower fleeing Bruges. It is believed that his nephew Burchard escaped to southern Ireland. Hacket and his son crossed the great salt marsh north of the city, reached the castle of his son-in-law Walter Cromlin, Lord of Lissewege where he remained hidden until Thierry d'Alsace became Count of Flanders a year later. He was sent to trial, proved his innocence, was restored to his former rank and became abbot of Dunes, founding a monastery at Lissewege. One of his descendants, Louis of Gruthuise, was created earl of Winchester by Edward IV. Hacket founded a branch of Dunes at Lissewege called Ter Doest Abbey which was noted as an early Cistercian Abbey and strongly connected to the Knights Templar. The Hacketts of County Kildare, Ireland, are also known as the de Ridelsford family of Lincolnshire. Haket means hooks, which is also a type of fish. Haket was a prominent Christian name of this family and along with Lucy [also a fish] Hacket and Lucy evolved into surnames in Britain.

On July 29, 1128 Count Thierry d' Alsace and a large army of Knights took the Erembald city of Ypres. The people of Bruges and the knights also plundered Ruddervoorde. Lambrecht of Ruddervoorde, Lambrecht of Wingene, Folket of Tielt who had been supporters of count Willem, withdrew back to the castle of Wijnendale. They surrendered and recognized Count Thierry as the new count of Flanders. The Erembald Clan was in total disarray. Those who had participated in the assassination of Count Charles were dead or hunted men. Those Erembalds who were not involved were nonetheless implicated through association.

With the recognition of Thierry d' Alsace as Count of Flanders, the Erembalds of Ruddervoorde came under the protection of a just overlord. In 1128 Lambert van Ruddervoorde I was a witness to count Thierry d' Alsace. In 1154 Lambert van Ruddervoorde

II and his brother Eustachius served as witnesses to bishop Gerald of Tournai and count Thierry d' Alsace. By the year 1230, the lordship of Ruddervoorde belonged to Lamkin van Ruddervoorde after the death of his father Knight Haket who received it from the Dean of St. Donatian church in Bruges. The Lordship of Ruddervoorde lasted into the 14th century but with increasing frequency the young Erembalds of Ruddervoorde began to migrate to Britain. They disappeared from Flanders at the same time the "Rutherfords" began to appear in England, Scotland and Ireland. The English county of Gloucester has a town called Ruddeford listed in the Domesday Book of 1086. The Yorkshire wapentake of Austhorpe also lists the town of Redeford. Both properties were owned by Roger de Busli who, like the Rutherfords, was from the coastal area of Flanders called Bray. Roger de Busli was the master of Tickhill Castle with which the Rutherfords were long connected.

Fortunately, the Ruddervoordes and other Flemings who came to Britain were among the first to use both surnames and heraldry. The works of Mrs. Beryl Platts have been central to the idea that the Rutherfurd/Rutherford family, like their near relatives: Douglas, Bruce, Stewart, Lindsay, Hay, Bethune, Lyle, Erskine and Crawford came to Scotland from Flanders and Normandy. The Rutherfords have always followed the Douglasses - in Flanders and in Scotland. Therefore, a secondary working theory has been that a detailed study of the Douglas family history in Flanders would certainly shed light on the origins of the Rutherfurds.

In West Flanders, the Rutherfurd familial relations center around these 4 groups - all of whom later came to Britain:

1. Hacket - Ridelsford - Ypres - Douglas - Rutherfurd
2. Harnes
3. Wavrin - Beaufremetz [Beaumetz] - de Fournes [Furnes/Furness] - Bailleul [Balliol]
4. Bethune [Beaton] - Lille [Lyle] - de Insula

### **The Flemish Diaspora in Britain**

A genuine "genesis story" for the Clan Rutherfurd by necessity began with a detailed study of each and every Scottish family that had ever signed a charter, marriage contract, agreement of manrent or any other document between 1140 and 1498. These families included the de Rydel, de Percy, de Morville, de Normanville, de Stutteville, de Vaux, de Neufmarché, de Valoniis, de Lucy, de Lacy, de Insula, de Ghent and, of course, the Douglas family. It has become very clear that all of these Scottish families had Flemish connections. Even families with names like "de Normanville" were actually Flemish immigrants from West Flanders who had been resettled in Normandy and Brittany. The Normans were excellent at conquering but knew nothing about administering the lands which they had conquered. For this they looked to the descendants of Charlemagne, the Frankish nobility of Flanders. Like the Scots-Irish on the American frontier, the Flemings were perfectly suited for the task at hand. They were very experienced at laying sieges, building castles, running armadas and managing large coordinated human efforts ..... like invasions. So William the Conqueror was wise in his use of Flemish archers and mounted knights but even wiser in later placing these families in "wild areas" like Ireland and along the Welsh and Scottish Marches.

## **David I and the Flemings**

Under the Scottish kings David I (1124-53) and Malcolm IV (1153-65) a program was devised with the Flemish counts, Thierry (1128-63) and his son Philip d' Alsace (1163-91) to settle Flemish immigrants in Scotland in order to build up urban cloth centers in Scotland, as existed in Flanders. Malcolm's daughter Marie married Eustache III, Count of Boulogne brother of Godfroi de Bouillon, conqueror of Jerusalem, creating a dynastic link between the court of Scotland and that of Jerusalem. Malcolm's successor, his brother William I (1165-1214), known as "the Lion", continued the Flemish settlement policy, as well as utilizing Flemish aid in other matters: In 1173, when William invaded northern England, he was reinforced by a Flemish contingent sent by Philip d' Alsace, Count of Flanders. Count Thierry and his son Philip d'Alsace were the overlords of the Ruddervoorde family in Flanders.

Although some Normans ventured into Scotland at the time of Malcolm III and the Battle of Alnwick, there was no effective penetration until the reign of King David I (1124-53). But even then this controlled immigration was engineered for specific reasons when David invited the sons of Norman and Flemish aristocracy to his realm. The resultant settlement was far more Flemish than Norman, even though some of the noble families of Flanders (like those of de Brus and de Balieul) had been granted lands in Normandy before the conquest of England. King David (the Saint) recognized that, during the recent years of turmoil, Scotland had fallen behind the European countries in many ways; her systems of government, trade, manufacture and urban development were all outmoded, and the economy was suffering. Flanders, on the other hand, was at the forefront of a significant commercial urbanization, which provided substantial rental and mercantile income. The Flemings were also advanced in agricultural expertise, and had a greatly superior weaving industry. All in all, David deemed their knowledge and updated techniques necessary to aid Scotland's survival on the international stage. The Normans too had grown in matters of government and land management. King David, therefore, sought their aid in all manner of administrative affairs: sheriffdoms were created, new communication networks were developed, and the powers of the judiciary were considerably strengthened. Also, the prerogatives of the Crown were redefined so as to be more socially effective and financially viable. Generally, the incoming nobles of Flanders and Normandy married into Celtic noble families, and conversely King David married Maud de Lens of the Flemish House of Boulogne.

## **The Flemish Laws of Nobilitas**

Flemish law forbade noble men and women to marry outside their own class. This law followed the Flemish nobility wherever they were. Its effects were especially apparent in Scotland where the Flemish and Norman aristocracy were closely related. The very fact that Rutherford knights were marrying the daughters of Flemish noblemen is proof that they were both Flemish and noble themselves. Initially knights like the Rutherfords were not considered members of the nobility. They were called 'miles' or 'caballarius'. Knights were seen as mere soldiers. In Scotland, the laws of nobilitas continued, but with the lessons of the Flemish wars and the Erembalds weighed and considered. Knights like the Rutherfords, were given small Scottish estates in return for guarding castles, keeping the peace and accompanying their Home and Douglas lords on campaign.

The hamlet of Rutherford enters into the Scottish record during the reign of William the Lion



shortly after 1165. Since the time of James Rutherford II the Rutherford chieftains have always been from Edgerston which is to the south of Rutherford on the Jed River flowing through the town of Jedburgh. The other close relatives of the Rutherfords are all of Flemish origin. Like the Homes, Hopringles, Lauders and Nisbets, the Rutherfords were the ancestral escutifers [squires] of the Douglas chiefs. Because of the similarity between the Rutherford and Balliol arms it is thought that they too may have family connections. The Balliol family also came to England with William the Conqueror and were also from Flanders. They fought under the flag of the Counts of Boulogne [Boulonnais]. Their heraldic charge is the reversed tinctures of the de Wavrin family and identical to the Rutherfords. Baldwin of Bailleul, castellan of Ypres was married to Agnes de Wavrin in the 1130s.

### **Rutherford of that ilk**

The town name of Rutherford or Ruderforde is no doubt of great antiquity. The nearby moor of Rutherford has the vestiges of a Roman encampment, with a Roman causeway. In its glory days Rutherford had a hospital dedicated to Saint Mary Magdalene. Hospitals in those days were as much an inn as a hospital. Therefore, the mission of Saint Mary Magdalene's Hospital was to take in travelers and care for the poor and sick of the area. In those days, there was no church at Rutherford, only a chapel within the hospital. The chapel churchyard also had a cemetery. In 1296 the master of the hospital swore fealty to Edward I "Longshanks" of England along with three other Rutherfords; Nicholas, Aymer and Margaret. These were the days of Sir William Wallace's fight for Scottish independence from the English and this "fealty" was achieved at the point of a sword. Later when Scotland had won its freedom, King Robert the Bruce granted the newly created hospital to the protection of the Abbey of Jedburgh. As of yet, no archaeological work has been done on the former site of the town or its hospital. In about 1770 the cemetery was ploughed under. The gravestones were broken up and thrown into field drains by a farmer. In 1296 there was no parish attached to Rutherford, however, the present parish of Maxton comprises the ancient parishes of Maccuston/Mackiston and Rutherford. After its destruction by the English, Rutherford was absorbed into Maxton parish, a small town to the west.

During the reigns of Saint/Queen Margaret and Saint/King David [mother and son] abbeys were created at Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh and Jedburgh. These were strategically placed defenses against English invasions. This defensive line across the Cheviot Hills also included the smaller parishes, such as, Rutherford, Roxburgh, Makerstoun and Maxton. The Cheviot Hills are a region of heathered moorlands and smoothly rounded hills divided by deep glens. The Tweed River itself has always been a barrier against the English and the river made Rutherford very important militarily. If Jedburgh Castle fell, the next line of defense was Rutherford on the Tweed and nearby Roxburgh Castle.

### **The Royal Burgh of Jedburgh**

Jedburgh has always been the political, religious and military center of "the lands of Rutherford". Jedburgh was made a royal burgh in the reign of Saint/King David I and received a charter from Robert the Bruce. Central to the town of Jedburgh are the old red sandstone ruins of the Augustinian Abbey of Saint Mary, standing on the high left bank of the Jed River. Lands, churches, houses, and valuable fisheries, on both sides of the border, were bestowed on the abbey by David I, Malcolm IV, William the Lion, and other royal and noble benefactors. Alexander III chose to be married in the abbey church to Yolande de Dreux in 1285. The town

also has been called Jedward, Jedworth, Jethart and Jeddart. Scotland's style of hanging them first and trying them afterwards is known as "Jeddart Justice," a term which originated when Sir George Home/Hume summarily strung up a gang of reivers during the reign of James VI.

For several centuries there was always some sort of fighting in the Cheviot Hills. As a result, fortified farmsteads known as pele castles sprang up throughout the area. Near to Rutherford estates in Roxburghshire are the famous castles/peles of Roxburgh, Smailholm Tower, Ferniehirst and Cessford. There were significant Rutherford towers at Hundalee, Hunthill, Edgerston and Rutherford itself.

Foreign politics also created friction on the Scottish border. England and France were constantly at war and Scotland was France's ally. In this way, Scotland was forever caught in the middle. For centuries the English and Scots took turns invading each other. To complicate things even more, the French were Catholic and the English were Protestant with the Scots historically torn between the two. Many Rutherfords were among the Scottish soldiers who went to France to fight the English. As a result, the lands of Rutherford and the surrounding areas became a lightning rod for English cruelty.

By 1297, English troops led by Sir Richard Hastings had so plundered and wrecked the abbey at Jedburgh that, in 1300, it was declared uninhabitable and the canons fled to Thornton-on-Humber. They hadn't even started rebuilding the abbey when it was ravaged again in 1410, in 1416 and in 1464. Reconstruction began in 1478 and the tower was partly rebuilt by 1508. But then, English troops led by the Earl of Surrey torched the place in 1523, another English force led by Lord Evers burned it down again in 1544 and the Earl of Hertford led more English troops to destroy the abbey for a third time not too long afterwards.

In a later period, the English warden Sir Ralph Eure, invaded Scotland southwest of Rutherford eventually losing a great battle at Ancrum Moor. The battle of Ancrum Moor was fought between the parishes of Maxton and Ancrum in 1543 at Lilliard's Edge. This place is named for a young woman of the name of Lilliard who fought with great bravery along with the Scots, and who lies buried in the field of battle. In this effort, the English commander, Sir Eure thought he had gained the cooperation of the Rutherford clan. The Rutherfords had agreed to fight with the English on the English side of the border in order to redress complaints against the Kerrs. In fact on September 30, 1543 the Earl of Suffolk thought it unwise to mount a winter campaign north of the border with 10,000 English troops because of the threat of the Rutherfords at Hunthill, Hundalee and Edgerston. Sir Eure proceeded anyway making the fatal mistake of burning out dozens of border towns and then attempting to enter Rutherford country near Jedburgh. Jedburgh itself was burned to the ground and Adam, George, and Gawen Rutherford were taken prisoner.

### **Jedburgh Abbey - The Rutherford Family Church**

On 13th July 1464 the abbot of Jedburgh granted a right of burial in the abbey to Robert Rutherford of Chatto and Hunthill and his wife Margaret Glendonwyn. The whole of the choir was afterwards divided among the Rutherfurds as their resting-place, and allotments assigned for those of Edgerston, Hunthill, Hundalee, Fernington, Bankend, the Hall, the Townhead, to the Lorimer and to the Bailie and his son. The reason given for the ancestors of Robert Rutherford of Fairnilee not being buried in the choir, but in the Bell House Brae (north-west

part of the churchyard), is that when the English made one of their raids upon Jedburgh they carried off the largest bell belonging to the abbey, which hung in the tower on the slope above referred to, and that Richard Rutherford, having pursued them with a handful of men, made a desperate effort to recover it, but was overpowered and mortally wounded, and requested to be buried in the Bell House. Robert Rutherford of Fairnilee, who was a writer in Edinburgh, and Deputy Receiver General of Supply of Scotland, was the last of his family who was buried in the Bell House, where his son erected a monument for him, with the coat of arms of the family. Tradition says that the bell was carried off to Hexham. The Bell House has long since been removed, but the oldest family of the Jedburgh Rutherfords still bury on the site.

The last man of note who was buried in the choir was John Rutherford of Edgerston, who did much for the good of his native county, and in respect for his memory a beautiful Gothic monument was erected by public subscription. The inscription upon it gives the true character of this highly-esteemed county gentleman, and is as follows:

"To the memory of John Rutherford, Esq. of Edgerston, Vice-Lieutenant-Colonel of the Local Militia, and for two successive parliaments knight of the shire for the county of Roxburgh. A gentleman distinguished alike by eminent talents' and unshaken integrity, who during a long and useful life devoted his exertions to the maintenance of order in the country at large, and to the promotion of every local improvement in his native district. Zealous in the performance of his public duties, just and correct in every private relation; a loyal subject, a considerate landlord, he left an example of public spirit and private worth, and of the true dignity of an independent Scottish gentleman. Died 6th May 1834, aged 86." John Rutherford was married to Mary Ann Leslie, daughter of General the Honorable Alexander Leslie, son of the Earl of Leven. General Leslie and his wife, the Honorable Rebecca Leslie, are also interred here, on the south side of the choir.

### **The Rough Wooing**

From the times of Lord Thomas Rutherford of Edgerston, third son and eventual heir of Lord James Rutherford II who lived from about 1460 to 1517, the Rutherfords had been allies and members of the Clan Home. Lord Thomas Rutherford served as the bailie for Sir Patrick Home/Hume. Lord Thomas' son and heir was Lord Robert Rutherford of Edgerston who lived from about 1490 to sometime before October of 1544. Lord Robert was the leader of the dominant Rutherford line at the time of the Hertford invasion. He's honored among the Rutherfords for defending Edgerston from Walter Kerr of Cessford. For his efforts, he was declared an outlaw.

In 1544 the English were pressing their campaign into Scotland when the Rutherfords joined forces with their former rivals, the Kerrs, and defeated the English at Ancrum Moor. Ancrum Moor is a stone's throw from both Rutherford and Jedburgh. Sir Ralph Eure, the English warden was killed, as was John Rutherford of Edgerston. Now the English thought they had been betrayed by the Rutherfords, but to the contrary, the Rutherfords had not agreed to fight for the English in Scotland. They had agreed to fight for them in England and only against their enemy the Kerrs. Their service was in return for the safety of the Rutherford family and the Rutherfords had kept their end of the bargain.

During the last months of his life, Lord Robert Rutherford saw the ancestral village of

Rutherford "spoiled" by Henry VIII's thugs in July of 1544. Two months later, on September 9th, 1544 the town was 'destroyed'. The rest of the village was burnt, razed and cast down between September 9th and September 13th, 1544. On September 16th the Rutherford estate at Hundalee was "razed and brent".

Two days later, after the burning of four noble Rutherford estates, the Rutherford Lords of Hunthill and Hundalee rode out to meet and remind the English army of its agreement with them. The English called the Rutherfords liars for obeying the Scottish governor's command to attack at Ancrum Moor. Lord Robert reminded them that they were in Scotland now and the terms of their covenant with the English had been strictly kept. Hertford then agreed to spare the already burned Rutherford estates. Lord Robert had hoped to "ride both horses" and had failed. The English responded by sending another even larger force of foreign mercenaries the following year, cutting deep into Scotland and sacking Edinburgh itself.

### **The Common Riding**

Nowadays, these times are not forgotten on the Borders and many towns celebrate this turbulent past by holding a Common Riding every year. Varying in style and content from one community to the next, they are all basically commemorations of the ancient need to ride the boundaries of their communities for security purposes. In Jedburgh, the "riding clans" such as the Rutherfords and Kerrs ride out on horseback with banners flying. Toasts are drunk, ancient local customs are rehearsed, and everybody has a good time! Every July in Jedburgh, they have a rideout on "Festival Friday". Participants go riding to Ferniehirst Castle, the ancestral home of the Kerr family and then on to Jedburgh Castle. There they present the new 'Callant' to the Kerr family and ride back to town in great ceremonial style. Two Rutherfords have served as Callants, Bobby Rutherford in 1950 and his son David Rutherford in 1983. Bobby Rutherford has also served as Reidswire Speaker in 1999.

### **The Battle of Reidswire**

The Rutherfurds, including the Lairds of Edgerston, Hundalee, and Hunthill, were present at the battle of the Reidswire in 1575. The battle of Reidswire is considered the last actual battle fought between England and Scotland. Richard Rutherford of Littleheuch, son of the "Cock of Hunthill," at that time provost of Jedburgh, led on the burghers, who came upon the scene while the skirmish was going on, and raising their slogan, "A Jedworth! A Jedworth!" turned the tide of battle in favor of their countrymen. The Black Laird of Edgerston was also a principal player in this battle. An old ballad in reference to this says:

"Bauld Rutherfurd he was fu' stout,  
Wi' his nine sons him round about,  
He led the town of Jedward out;  
All bravely fought that day."

Another surviving tradition from that time is called "The Hand Ba' Game". It is celebrated on Candlemas [February 2nd] and comes from the troubles of 1549 when a few Scots played a post-battle football game with the severed heads of some Englishmen. Candlemas is a day of celebration in the town, culminating in a football game between the 'uppies' and the 'doonies'. Nowadays, a leather ball replaces the Englishman's head. The boundaries of the game stretch

from Castlehill, which is up on high ground, to Townfoot, down at the bottom. In this way, the town of Jedburgh is divided into two teams; the 'uppies' and the 'doonies'. English volunteers are always welcome!

### **The Reiving Times**

The Rutherfurds were among the most notable of the Riding Clans who dominated the Borders from the 14th to 16th centuries. The Rutherfurds, like other clans, took advantage of the struggle between the two Kingdoms of Scotland and England and lived in a state of semi-lawlessness. The Rutherfurds were a rugged, tough clan who enforced their own code of conduct and were among those known as 'Reivers'.

The Rutherfurds quickly came to realize that due to the sudden and brutal nature of the times, that the Scottish government could provide neither justice nor protection against the English and that their only strength and safety lay with the clan. The Rutherfurds joined in the grim business of 'reiving' from neighboring families and those across the border. Raids were made, not in the name of Scotland, but in the name of the family. The Rutherfurds were superb horsemen and well drilled in repelling light attacks. When large-scale assaults took place, usually from England, the Rutherfurds harried the invaders and fought alongside the Homes and Douglasses. The Rutherfurds of Jedburgh were also famous 'lorimers' or saddle makers, an all important trade for reiving clans.

Scotland used the Riding Clans as a standing army for a first line of defense against English invaders. In an attempt to govern the border region more effectively, the English and Scottish governments reached an agreement in 1249 known as the 'Laws of the Marches'. By its terms, both sides of the border were divided into three areas, East, West and Middle Marches - each to be administered both judicially and militarily by a March Warden, the first being appointed in 1297. It was the Warden's duty to see that peace was maintained, to administer justice and to deal with 'bills' or complaints. The Rutherfurds frequently served as the wardens of the Middle March or as the warden's baillie. The Scottish authorities were inclined to appoint their wardens from the gentry who lived locally and were often the 'headmen' of the most powerful riding families.

In 1603 James VI of Scotland became James I of England and he immediately set about unifying the two countries. James was determined to have a United Kingdom and one priority was to pacify the Border country and restore law and order. He wasted no time and in April of that year he issued a proclamation in Newcastle whereby the Marches and the posts of Wardens were abolished. The term 'the Borders' was forbidden and the old frontier ceased to exist. James affirmed that the borders were now "the heart of the country" and that "no supply should be given to all rebels and disorderly persons, their wives or their bairnes (children) and that they be prosecuted with fire and sword". Under the rule of James' the domination of the Reivers was finally swept away. Severe measures were now pursued to enforce the law and there was, after centuries of disorder a will to see that the law was enforced. Wanted men were hunted down and executed. They were now subject to 'Jeddart Justice' which was summary execution without trial. All Borderers were forbidden to carry weapons and they could only own horses of a value up to 50 shillings. Deprived of their basic reiving equipment, all unlawful activities ceased. Reiving families were dispossessed of their lands. Their homes were destroyed and the people scattered or were deported.

## **Leaving Scotland**

Migration accelerated for several reasons during this period, principally economic and religious. The violent period of the two Civil Wars and the Cromwell era sent many Rutherfords abroad, first to the continent to fight for religious causes and eventually to Ireland and the Commonwealth at large. Immigration to Ireland began in the early 1600s. The Ulster Plantation brought thousands of Scottish Presbyterians to Ulster. When Charles I sought to impose his preferred style of worship and doctrines upon the Church of Scotland, a protest movement arose which culminated in the signing of a National Covenant in 1638. The Solemn League and Covenant was a pledge to maintain a reformed church throughout the British Isles and was agreed to by the governments of England, Scotland and Ireland in 1643. The new settlers maintained links with their relatives and co-religionists in Scotland. In fact, when William of Orange came to Ireland in 1690 many of his troops were Scots who had been serving in the Dutch Scots-Brigade loyal to the House of Orange.

Among the leading Scottish Covenanters of the day was Rev. Dr. Samuel Rutherford, a member of the Hunthill cadet of the Clan Rutherford. He was born near Nisbet-Crailing in Roxburghshire and started his education in the family church at Jedburgh Abbey. He played a prominent role in the Westminster Assembly, which brought forth the "Westminster Confession of Faith" and its catechisms. He also wrote a book called "Lex Rex" ("The Law Is King"), whose principles greatly influenced the English philosopher John Locke. Followers of Rutherford and Locke include such notable figures in the United States as Rev. John Witherspoon, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and James Madison. The principles of Rutherford and Locke, such as having a system of checks and balances between three different branches of government, formed the foundation of American democracy. It was General George Washington, who said: "If defeated everywhere else, I will make my stand for liberty among the Scots-Irish in my native Virginia".

The fundamental causes for the Scots migration from Ireland were economic. Repressive trade laws, rack-renting landlordism, famine, and the decline of the linen industry were major factors in stimulating the overseas movement of the Scots-Irish or Ulster Scots. The loss of the United States was a great blow to the British Empire and changed the migratory paths of Rutherfords who were yet to leave Britain from 1776 onward. In the 18th and 19th centuries Canada, New Zealand and Australia became the Rutherford destinations rather than the USA. "The sun never set on the British Empire" and even far away Egypt, South Africa and India saw Rutherford military families, thus spreading the surname across the globe into the 20th and 21st centuries.

### **Sources:**

Kenneth Rutherford Davis  
"The Rutherfords in Britain: a history and guide"  
Alan Sutton Publishing  
Gloucester, England 1987

Gary Rutherford Harding  
"The Rutherfords of Roxburghshire" - 6th edition  
Alemo Press 2002



Seattle, Washington

Paul Vandewalle

"Van Ruddervoorde naar Rutherford"

Ruddervoorde, Belgium: Heemkundige Kring, 2003

Paul Vandewalle

"Gerard de Ridefort"

Ruddervoorde, Belgium: Heemkundige Kring, 1998

Alexander Jeffrey

"An historical and descriptive account of Roxburghshire"

published in Edinburgh by Fraser & Co. in 1836

Thomas H. Cockburn-Hood

"The Rutherfords of that Ilk and their Cadets"

published in Edinburgh 1884

Alexander Jeffrey

"The history and antiquities in Roxburghshire and adjacent districts"

published between 1855 and 1864 by T.C. Jack

John Marius Wilson

"The Imperial Gazetteer of Scotland"

published in 1868

James Watson

"Jedburgh Abbey and the Abbeys of Teviotdale"

Edinburgh: David Douglas 1894

George MacDonald Fraser

"Steel Bonnets : The Story of the Anglo-Scottish Border Reivers"

Trafalgar Square 1986

Charles A. Hanna

"The Scotch-Irish: The Scot in North Britain, North Ireland, and North America"

Vol.1 New York, NY

G. P. Putnam, 1902.

Robert W. Ramsey

"The 'Scotch-Irish' Migration

"Carolina Cradle, Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier, 1747-1762"

Chapter XII, 1964

# *Theories on the Origins of the Grahams*

by

*Nellie Graham Lowry*

Scholars have long debated whence came the people and name Graham. Some say the Grahams are descendants of the Graeme who commanded the armies of Fergus II in 404 AD. Others are equally convinced that they are of Norman descent, while yet others claim a Flemish or even Danish descent. Even the early officers of Clan Graham Society could not agree, with first President Harry L. Graham holding to a Norman connection although first Society Genealogist J. Kenneth Graham was in the Pictish Scot (Graeme) camp. Which is correct? We will examine the writings of these and other scholars and allow you to draw your own educated conclusions.

Harry L. Graham and researcher Thomas Dickson Graham of Clearwater, Florida, wrote in From Whence the Montrose Grahams (1979):

"William de Graham was the youngest son of William de Tancarville of Danish descent, and Matilda d'Arques, direct descendent of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish kings. The father was a baron of Normandy, and went to England with William the Conqueror in 1066, and for his services received a great barony in Lincolnshire called Grantham. He also had great properties in Normandy. Eventually he turned his Norman properties over to his eldest son, Rabel, and moved to England where he later became Treasurer for King Henry I and Justice of England."

William de Graham was born about the time of the Norman invasion, whether in Normandy or in England is unknown, probably Normandy. As soon as he was old enough, he became Seneschal (business manager) for his father at the Barony of Grantham in Lincolnshire, England. He took the name William de Grantham which was soon shortened to William de Graham (sometimes written Graeme). The book, *The Norman People* says: "In all the early records of England, Graham means Grantham in Lincoln; and William de Graham settled in Scotland in the time of King David I, (1124-1153) and obtained Abercom and Dalkeith.

"The English branches of the de Tancarvilles were generally named Chamberlain. The banner of the Chamberlains of Lincoln bore three escallops, which also appear in the arms of de Graham or de Grantham, originally from Lincoln. (Sir John Graham of Dundaff carried a banner with three golden escallops on a field of black. The same three golden escallops are a part of the Montrose Coat of Arms.) From this family descended the famous Marquis of Montrose and the brave Viscount of Dundee; also Sir James Graham of Netherby, the eminent statesman."

## **Evidence from The Falaise Roll**

The Falaise Roll (a list of those who assisted William the Conqueror) says, "William de Chamberlain de Tancarville, had a son, William (de Grantham) de Graham, from whom descended the Famous Marquis of Montrose, the Viscounts of Dundee and the Graham family."

The Encyclopedia Britannica, 13th edition, says under Grantham: "Although there is no authentic evidence of Roman occupation, Grantham (Graham, Granham in the Domesday Book) from its situation on the Ervine Street, is supposed to have been a Roman station. Grantham, in Lincolnshire, England was situated...on the River Witham -105 miles north by west from London."

William de Graham fought with the forces of King Henry I (1100-1135), son of William the Conqueror, at Laigle in 1116 and in 1119 at the Battle of Bremule. He commanded the English forces in the Battle of Bourgetesraude in 1124. He was in Scotland in 1125 when he witnessed a charter for the gift of land from King David I at Holyrood House.

William de Graham married a daughter or a sister of Odon Stigand, dapifer (meaning steward), an attendant at the Court of Duke William, later the Conqueror. They had these children:

1. Rabel, who was his successor at Grantham
2. Peter, who went to Scotland;
3. John, who went to Scotland; and possibly
4. Alan, mentioned by Stewart in his book, *The Grahams*.

William de Graham died about 1128. Future Grahams dropped the "de" from their name as it no longer had any meaning, since they were no longer "of" or "from" Graham. Graham then became the surname for all future generations.

## Society Officers Divided

Besides the above authorities, Society President Harry L. Graham found many references to the people of Tancarville in the definitive biography of William the Conqueror by David C. Douglas, and in the 13th edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica.

So convinced was he of his Norman research that President Graham added this note at the end: "This does not clear up the origin of the name 'Graham' and its derivation among the Pictish Scots."

Society Genealogist J. Kenneth Graham wrote his thesis on the origins of the Grahams in 1981, advancing his theory of a Pictish Scot connection. This research, a synopsis of which follows, included a needling note to President Graham: "You can be a Norman if you wish, and I will stay a Pict descendant of one who was there with Fergus, and helped pull down a part of the Roman Wall in the early days."

"I hold that our family line descends from the early Pict people in what is now known as Scotland. The Picts were there long before the year one; and though we may have intermarried with the incoming Scots, and occasionally took a wife from Denmark, our name and main line blood came down from the original natives of old Caledonia, and not from Normandy."

### From Or and Sable by Louisa Grace Graeme:

"No facts of William de Græme's ancestry have reached us; tradition alone records that he sprung from a renowned "Graym," who was the father-in-law of Fergus II, King of the Scots, and had come over with that monarch from Denmark. "Graym" is said to have married a Princess of the House of Denmark, and their offspring became the wife of Fergus. He also commanded the king's army, during which period he attacked and demolished the wall of Antoninus, built across Scotland from the Firth of Forth to that of the Clyde, which marked the northern limit of the country conquered by the Romans.

"After the death of King Fergus, "Graym" became guardian to the young King Eugene (his grandson), and when he had restored religion, law and order to the state, he resigned his guardianship and placed the government of the kingdom in Eugene's hands as soon as that monarch reached full age.

"Whether every descendant of the Montrose family accepts this tradition we must leave to their own decision, but it would seem that the characteristics and records of the family point rather to the Scandinavian than Norman descent, which is the other alternative of William de Graeme's origin."

### A Mysterious (and Debatable) Inscription

For those who accept the former, a very interesting account of the building of the wall of Antoninus, showing its date and progress, may be found in Mr. Gillespie's edition of the History of Stirlingshire, to which I am indebted for the following: "When Falkirk Parish Church (which had been built by Malcolm Canmore) was razed to the ground in 1011 a white marble slab was discovered amongst the foundations, about one foot square in size. It bears two inscriptions — one relating to the foundation of the monastery in 1057, and the other to the memory of the Thane who broke down the great wall. The latter runs as follows:

FVNLRATVS HIC DESN ROB GRAHAM

ILLE EVERVS VALL SEVERVS

A.C.D. 15 FERGVSVS II R. SCO.

From the existence of this slab\*, it seems that the tradition must have been accepted as fact in the year 1057. That the remains of this wall in that district are called to this day "Graham's Dyke" cannot be disputed. (\*Metropolitan Museum Edinburgh: This is thought by some to be a forgery.)

James Browne's assertion that the whole tradition is "absurd fiction" is scarcely argument, and certainly not proof, especially as he appears unable to give any reason for the name the Dyke bears: the etymology, he says, "has confounded antiquarians and puzzled philologists" which he throws great doubt on its being derived from "Grym," which signifies strength, in the British and Welsh languages of the period.

In an old black-letter book in the library at Innerpefferay, Perthshire, (the title-page of which is very quaintly ornamented and bears the date 1577 as the year of printing), is the most detailed account of "Grym" that I have hitherto come across.

The book is a history of Scotland, dedicated to the Lord Robert Dunley, Earl of Lycester, Baron of Denbigh, Knight of the Garter, etc. The author is one Raphael Holmshead. The following are extracts:

"The Scots and Picts being informed (of the building of the wall) they assembled together, and under the leading of a noble man called Graym, they set upon the Brytagnes (who were building the Dyke from Abercorn to Dumbarton by order of the Romans, making it of 'turfe,' sustained with certain posts of timber passing athwart the border) as they were busie in working about the same, and slue not only a great number of labours and souldiours, which were set to labour to defend the work, but also entering into the British borders fetched from thence a great bootie of cattaille and other riches, etc.

"This Graym, who as I sayde was chief of the enterprys, was borne in Denmark (as some hode opinion) in the tyme of the Scottish men's banishment, and had a Scottish man to his father descended of a noble house, and a Danish lady to his mother; he himself also married a noblewoman of that nation, and had by hir a daughter, whom Fergus by the perswasione of the King of Denmark took to wyfe, and had issue by hir (before his coming into Scotland) three sons, Eugunius, Dongarus, and Constantuos, of whom hereafter mention shall be made.

"Others affryme that this Grayme was a Briton born, and that thro' hate of the Romanes for their cruel government he fledde forth of his native country, and continued ever after amongst the Scottes, first in Denmark and then in Albion."

### 'The Leadership of Graym'

The author goes on to relate that whilst the Britons were busy sending "ambassadors" to Rome to consult about their defenses, the Picts and Scots advanced under the leadership of "Graym." He was chief in repulsing the "Bretagnes, and razed down the wall of Abercorn, not leaving one piece thereon, so that only a few tokens are left to this day of that huge and wonderful work; it is called now in these days Grams Dyke, because that Grayme ye have heard was not only chief in repulsing the Bretagnes from the same, but also at this time in the razing of it he was the greatest doer."

Mr. Gillespie's History of Stirlingshire tells us this wall runs along from Castle Cary parallel with Bonny water. After clearing Seabog Wood, it passes on to Chapel Hill, where a small Castellum stood on the north side of the ditch. It is between this point and Eli Hill that the wall bears the local name of "Graham's Dyke," from the tradition that it was at this spot "Graym" broke through the military cordon defending it.

For my purpose, the years 1125-39, with their indisputable proof of the tenure of the Græme on Scotch soil, are sufficient. Certainly at this period, William de Grame was a person of assured position and wealth and established (as many of his descendants were to be also in the confidence and friendship of his king).

The first time the spelling of the name is written Graham is in the Cambuskenneth charters in 1361. Hitherto, it has been spelt Grame or Graym.

George Graham born 1669, the Bishop of Orkney and Zetland had a large illuminated tree of his descent which was presented by him in 1747 to Stuart Thriepland in consequence of their relationship though the monk's mother, Anna Smyth. This tree is elaborately drawn out and shows 22 quarterings on either side; here and there some blanks are left; it is illuminated on parchment folded into a red morocco leather cover, and was drawn up to show his descent — a necessary qualification before being made Father Superior of the Capuchins. This tree is later on proved of some use in the "service" of the eighth laird to the Earldom of Montrose in 1770. On the left of the tree Father Græme traces his descent back to Græme the father-in-law of King Eugene, son of King Fergus, whose storming of the Roman wall in 407 A.D. has given the place near Falkirk the name of Græme's Dyke, which it holds to this day. The centre tablet states that "This is the five and fourty branches of the stems of which those four brothers James, Patrick, Robert and William Græme are all heritably descended both from the father's and mother's side."

### Norman, Pictish or Danish?

Other sources and scholars had opinions and theories on the origins and we present some of them to help in your decision to be of Norman, Pictish or Danish descent:

From Clans and Families of Scotland, page 95:

"According to Buchanan of Auchmar, an ancestor of this family was appointed Regent or Governor of Scotland, during the minority of Eugenius, the successor of King Fergus; and, being engaged in war with the Britons, he led an army over the wall of Agricola, from which circumstance this wall has ever since retained the name of Graham's Dyke. In the year 1125, William de Graham is witness to the foundation charter of Holyrood House, after which date the family appear as Grantees in many charters, and are incidentally mentioned in others, so that thenceforward their history appears pretty

clear and credible. A Sir Patrick was created Baron Graham in 1455; William, third Lord, was killed at the battle of Flodden; and his grandson, Robert, fell at the battle of Pinkie."

Dictionary of National Biographies, Vol. 6, page 51, another book on peerages says: "The name has always been written interchangeably with Græme, the Scottish orthography. The earliest traceable ancestor (for we reject, of course, the fifth-century hero, Greme) is William de Graham, who settled in Scotland early in the 12th Century. The surname, therefore, is clearly local and from its termination undoubtedly English. The only place in S. Britain of the name, which we find, is Graham, near Kesteven, in Lincolnshire." The place meant is the well-known town of Grantham, which is found as "Graham" in mediæval records.

The Book of Ulster Surnames by Robert Bell, Page 81: "The name is territorial in origin from Grantham in Lincolnshire, a place noted in the Domesday Book as both Grantham and Graham. The de Grahams were an Anglo-Norman family who settled in Scotland in the early 12th Century. The first of the name on record is William de Graham who witnessed the foundation charter of Holyrood Abbey in 1128. He was later granted the lands of Abercorn and Dalkieth in Midlothian by David I. From that time the Grahams played a very important part in the affairs of Scotland."

## A Vote for the Anglo-Saxons

In the Clan Graham News, Vol. 2 No. 5, July 1984, an article entitled Who are the Grahams? states that "Until recently the origin of the Grahams and their ancestors before they went to Scotland in the year 1026 was obscure. We now know that the family ancestry of the Grahams is traced to the ancient Anglo-Saxon Kings of England through King Alfred the Great and the Norwegians who settled in the Orkney Islands and became the original Vikings under Rollo the Great. They occupied the western Districts of France in 911 A.D. and became the historic Normans.

"Matilda, a descendent of King Alfred, married William, the youngest son of Duke Richard I of Normandy. Duke Richard II was the father of Duke William I, the Conqueror. Matilda's daughter, and cousin of Duke William I, married Gerold de Tankerville. Their youngest son, William de Tankerville, was a first cousin of William the Conqueror. His family were the hereditary Chamberlains of the dukes of Normandy and prominent in Norman history. They served with Duke William at Hastings and were rewarded with the Great Barony of Graham in Lincolnshire. The name 'de (of) Graham' originated here. Years later in Scotland the 'de' was dropped and thus the surname became 'Graham.'

"William de Graham, who was an English Baron and famous soldier, accompanied King David I, also a Norman, to Scotland and, as first Justicar of Scotland witnessed the charters for Holyrood Abbey (1126) and the chapel (1128). He was given the baronies of Dalkeith and Lothian, south of Edinburgh. From this family came all the future Grahams who comprised the "Great Historic Family of Grahams" in Scotland, the Grahams of Montrose and Menteith being the most prominent.

"Twice they married into the royal family. From them came many notable men, including Sir John de Graham, right-hand man to the Great Wallace, killed in the battle of Falkirk in 1298; the Great Marquis, religious leader, poet, but above all, the most distinguished soldier of his time. He was martyred in 1650."

## Evidence of a Flemish Origin

The last theory we present to you on the origins of the Grahams was first presented in an article written by Claire Brooks and published in the official newsletter of the Clan Graham Association (UK) in 1998. In it she forcefully advances the possibility of Flemish beginnings. The late Roger Graham, then-chairman of the Association introduced the article as "... a masterly piece of original historical research, drawing together the many and various strands of the story, producing this lucid and readable account."

The article states that "William de Graham was attending King David I of Scotland in his coronation procession in 1124. Many questions arise about the ancestors of William. Nine centuries later, the Grahams believe that he was a Norman and the son of a Norman, Ralph de Tancarville, Hereditary Chamberlain to the Dukes of Normandy.

"Recent research and writing by Mrs. Beryl Platts, an expert in Heraldry, now presents an entirely different identity for William de Graham, which is justified by her detailed research and her wealth of knowledge of her subject. She has published three fascinating books: The Origin of Heraldry, Scottish Hazard Vol. 1 - The Flemish Nobility and their Impact on Scotland and Scottish Hazard Vol. 2 - The

Flemish Heritage, Published in 1980, 1985 and 1990 respectively, by the Proctor Press, Greenwich, London, SE10 8ER.

"Platts writes that our William was neither the son of Ralph de Tancarville, nor any other Norman, but was instead the son of Arnulf de Hesdin, son of Folk and nephew of Count Enguerrand, Comte de Hesdin in Flanders. Arnulf was of a Flemish noble family with an incredible pedigree and many lines of descent from Charlemagne.

"William, Duke of Normandy, needed ships and skilled officers for his invasion of England in 1066. The Flemish Nobles agreed to lend him 42 ships and crossed the channel themselves to fight with the Normans at Hastings and were duly rewarded in return for English land grants. Arnulf and many Flemish nobles fought on the right wing opposite Harold of England and undoubtedly contributed greatly to the Norman victory. Arnulf received land grants in 14 English counties, including part of Oxfordshire, where he built Chipping Norton Castle.

"William the Conqueror was wise to seek the help of the Flemish Nobles as they were the best educated nobles in Europe, who were great shipbuilders and international traders, experts in science and agriculture, not to mention their military prowess.

"Arnulf, despite the fact that he was a second son of a second son in his family, was nevertheless an important figure in Europe; he married a daughter of Ralph de Ghent, Peer of Flanders and Lord of Alost, and his wife Gisela, daughter of the Count of Luxembourg; and his father, Folk, married a daughter of the great European family of Vermandois. He was related to most of the Counts in Flanders and it is said that his pedigree was revered by the Flemish. It should be noted that local historians in Chipping Norton, Grantham and Shropshire County Council were contacted by Roger Graham and they provided considerable help about Arnulf and his own immediate family.

"The proof of the identity of William de Graham and his father rests principally on the Flemish Heraldry from the 10th and 11th Centuries and ongoing, which was of great importance and pride to the Flemish. England did not have a real development of heraldry until the 13th Century. The de Hesdin family heraldic devices were - "Azure, three escallops or" i.e. a blue background and three gold escallops - the Arms of the Comte de Hesdin. William de Graham would take his Arms to Scotland and it is interesting that a couple of centuries later Sir John Graham, a great-great-great-great-grandson of William de Graham slightly altered the de Hesdin/Graham heraldic devices by adding a chevron of the black and silver tinctures of the de Ghent family of Alost, into which family Arnulf had married. The personal Arms of the Duke of Montrose still carries in two quarters the three escallops of de Hesdin. Confusion about Ralph de Tancarville could well have arisen when he borrowed the de Hesdin devices, as did the Malet family also. The Menteith Grahams also included the three escallops on their Arms, as do the Grahams of Inchbrakie with rather different colors, and did several Border Graham families.

"The second piece of evidence as to identity is the fact that the Scottish Graham family and the Scottish Stewart family called each other "cousins" from their early presence in Scotland. To make the relevant point as to identity one must relate to Arnulf's daughter, Avelina. Arnulf had four or five children - son Walter, heir of the Comte de Hesdin, our William, a son called Arnulf and a daughter, Avelina. Walter's adult home was in Flanders. Avelina inherited a great part of Arnulf's English property and was known as the Domina de Norton. She married Alan FitzFlaald, son of Flaald, grandson of Fleance, and great-grandson of Banquo, and one of their sons was called Walter FitzAlan who became the first High Steward of Scotland, whose family took the surname of Stewart. Arnulf de Hesdin became the grandfather of the first Scottish Stewart and father of the first Scottish Graham, which is why they called each other cousins.

"The third piece of evidence relates to William's presence in Scotland and association with David, later King David I. David, Earl of Cumbria, the youngest child of King Malcolm Canmore never expected to become king. In his teenage years his father sent him to England, to watch over his sister who married Henry I of England, and he lived there until his accession. He married a very important Princess of Flanders, Maud, widow of Simon de Senlis, around whom congregated many Flemish Nobles, whose company David enjoyed and from whom he learned much. He and his wife spent most of their time in England until his accession in 1124, when he then invited many of his Flemish friends, including William, to join him in Scotland to help him modernize his country, and, among other things, he gave William de Graham land grants in Dalkeith and Abercorn.

"Fourthly we come to the matter of the surname. How did William come to change his name? Arnulf, after enjoying 29 happy and successful years in England, was accused in 1095 of having joined Robert de Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, in his rebellion against King William II (Rufus) and was about to be executed when the pope requested William Rufus to produce an army for the First Crusade. Arnulf was reprieved, provided he fought a judicial duel and won, and that he surrendered some of his

English assets and some of his Flemish assets, and also that he agreed to join the First Crusade, all of which he accepted. He left his children in Chipping Norton Castle. In 1098, he was killed at the siege of Antioch. The closest relatives of the children were almost certainly from the de Ghent family of Alost, some of whom had settled at the Manor of Folkingham near Grantham. His son, Walter, was to return to Flanders and succeeded to the de Hesdin Compté; Avelina was married; and it is a reasonable possibility that William joined his relatives near Grantham, which may help the question of the 'Graham.' Both Mrs. Platts and the local historian from Grantham confirm that in the medieval period Grantham people ignored the 'nt' in the name Grantham and, in fact, called it "Graham" and it was pointed out that Norman writers frequently left out the 'nt.' All of the Flemish nobles who emigrated to Scotland took more appropriate surnames for their new country. It is more than reasonable to accept that William did seek his relatives and settled in the Grantham area and remained there until his emigration to Scotland. His de Ghent relations took the surname of 'Lindsay' and William chose 'Graham.'

"Finally, it is submitted that Ralph de Tancarville never set foot in England, as he remained loyally at his post as Chamberlain in Normandy, and his absence from England is confirmed by David C. Douglas in his book William the Conqueror, first published 1964.

"The research of Beryl Platts has rendered much important knowledge for the Scottish people about their incredible Flemish heritage and for genealogists around the world who have Scottish ancestry. She has listed at least 29 Scottish Clans which originated in Flanders, and there were more."

Well, you can see that the many hours spent by scholars pondering our origins have only entrenched their resolve in the correctness of their own theories. The several and varied ideas presented here will allow you to draw your own conclusions and, perhaps, encourage you to prove your further research and arrive at the answer you find most fitting.



## THE RISE OF THE FLEMISH FAMILIES IN SCOTLAND

*Annette Hardie - Stoffelen*

For the Anglo-Flemish, the half century between the Norman Conquest of 1066 and the witnessing of that Glasgow Inquisitio which brought them into Scottish affairs in 1116 must have seemed like the summit of the world. After the awe-inspiring repulse of the Vikings by their fathers in Flanders, they had gone on in their own time to reach and sustain a pinnacle of achievement never known before in the history of a nation. Nationhood itself was a very young concept. Family bonds, loyalty to a liege lord, be he count, duke or king, the honour of a sacred cause, adherence to the chivalry code - these things were what bound men together, with national borders apt to be secondary to kinship, perhaps because they were so unfixed. Those Flemings who had followed Count Eustace II of Boulogne to England in 1066 and received their territories there from William of Normandy, were now being offered large tracts of Scotland because their Lady had become that country's Queen.

In England, Henry II's reign was marked by acts of oppression against those Flemings who had supported Stephen of Blois. Flemish noblemen were compelled to flee back across the Channel for their own safety and many of their humbler followers were forcibly removed to farming colonies such as those in Pembrokeshire, far from both the seats of English power and the cross-Channel ports from which help might have come. The East Midlands Boulonnais instituted a second wave of immigration into Scotland, where they joined their relatives already there, and were joyfully received by their royal kinsmen, successively kings of Scotland, Malcolm the Maiden and William the Lion. The latter's choice of heraldic device, of necessity an innovatory one since he was not heir to any Boulonnais territory, underscores the sudden fashion for lions. But the tinctures were those of Boulogne. That curious device the tressure, found only in the armorials of Flanders and Scotland must have been adopted from the former country to mark the Charlemagnic descent from Queen Maud through her grandfather, Count Lambert of Lens.

In Scotland the seed of the Eustaces had ruled untroubled since the marriage of Maud de Lens to David I. Supported by descendants of her own house of Boulogne and their kinsmen, men such as Walter the Fleming (now Seton), Gilbert of Ghent/ Alost (now Lindsay), Robert de Comines/St Pol (now Comyn and Buchan), Arnulf de Hesdin (now Stewart and Graham), the counts of Louvain (now Bruce), the hereditary advocates of Bethune (now Beaton), the hereditary castellans of Lille (now Lyle), and all their cadets and followers, her own descendants continued on the throne until the tragic untimely death of her great-great-grandson, Alexander II, in 1286, followed by the equally disastrous death at sea of his own heiress and granddaughter, the little Maid of Norway, in 1290.

It has not been sufficiently understood that the wars of the Scottish succession were intimately concerned with an insistence by the Boulonnais there that their own blood should continue on the throne. For Flemings had married Flemings and by now south and east Scotland was largely populated by men and women whose ancestors had come from Gent, Guines, Ardres, Comines, St Omer, St Pol, Hesdin, Lille, Tournai, Douai, Bethune, Boulogne. The 1290 break in the Scottish-Boulonnais succession provided the English monarchy with a heaven-sent opportunity to annul the Charlemagnic descent. Stepping in as friend and mediator, Edward I flung his armed weight behind John Baliol - a man who, although undoubtedly a Fleming, was not descended in the male line from the old comital house of the Eustaces. Nor has it been properly

appreciated that the Ragman Rolls of the 1290s, by which an allegiance to Edward I had to be sworn by men described by later historians as “Scottish nobles”, were simply lists of important people of Flemish ancestry wherever they might be found; in fact many of the names are recognisable as belonging to Boulonnais living in the East Midlands, among them the Seatons of Rutland and descendants of the Lincolnshire Gilbert of Ghent.

The patriotic William Wallace was a Scottish Celt, unacceptable as king to the Boulonnais nobility, though his bravery commended itself to some of them. Robert Bruce, cousin of the Eustaces, directly descended by several lines from both Charlemagne and David’s Queen Maud, was eligible in every way. Robert de Bruce’s ancestor came into England carrying the azure lion of Louvain, and must have been of that house, whose Maud de Louvain was the wife of Count Eustace I of Boulogne. Members of Robert’s family may well have been granted estates in Normandy at, for instance, Brix as tradition states, by a Conqueror anxious to procure both their allegiance and their Flemish ability to provide trade. Robert de Bruce very properly gave up the Louvain lion to Jocelyn de Louvain, a senior son of the family, when that prince married the heiress to the Percys; and the saltire, in the colours of Boulogne, became the mark of Bruce. And Edward I’s rage and dismay at Bruce’s coronation at Scone on March 27, 1306, may be gauged by that curious ceremony some two months later in Westminster Hall, on Whit Sunday, May 22, when he “caused two live swans with gold chains about their necks to be brought into the Hall, and laying his hands upon them, swore with all his attendant nobles before God, Our Lady and the Swans’ that he would be avenged on the Scots”. It was a highly expressive action. Edward’s public vow-taking was half a defiance, half a capitulation. The swan was then, as it is still, the central heraldic mark of the arms of Boulogne. For the swan legend (in spite of Lohengrin) seems to have originated at the castle of Bouillon, which was the inheritance of Eustace II’s second son, Godfrey of Bouillon. Scottish writers have followed a Celtic tradition which preferred to allot the thistle to a legend of Kenneth MacAlpine rather than give it its true (and much more thought-provoking) significance as the personal emblem of Godfrey of Bouillon, who led so many founders of Scottish families on the First Crusade.

Investigation into the rise of the European nobility - where they came from, who they were - has only recently become a subject of interest to continental historians. These 20th-century researchers have put forward various theories; some of them are in conflict with each other, chiefly because of regional differences. But the belief that the noble families of the northern part of the Continent were sprung from marriages of Charlemagne’s children with the commanders of his civil or military’ administration, retaining at least some of that power, is substantiated by virtually all the genealogical documents that have survived those distant times.

The regions where the ruling families were of Carolingian descent embrace the “comtés” north of the Ile de France, east of Normandy, west of Germany, including of course the whole of Flanders - a description here used broadly to include territories like Brabant and Hainaut which, though theoretically independent, were in practice part of the political ambience of the Flemish counts, and for long periods under their direct control.

Flemish families separated by the events of 1066 and subsequent years, making lives wholly apart for themselves in a Scotland divided from Flanders by an absolute gap in both time and distance, still possess armorial devices identical with those borne by men in Flanders often of the same name. The Scottish families of Flemish origin listed below are by no means the whole

of the Flemish contingent that went north at David I's request.

### BAIRD

The Baird (originally 'Baard') family are first quoted as of Loftus, Yorkshire. About 1200 Richard Bard in Scotland confirmed gifts made by his father, also Richard, to Lesmahagow Priory, Lanarkshire, an action for which he had to have the consent of his lord, Robert of Biggar, grandson of the Sheriff of Lanarkshire, Baldwin the Fleming. There can be little doubt that the Baards, or Bairds, shared Baldwin's nationality. Their arms show, in the colours of Boulogne, one of the emblems of Guines.

### BALLIOL

A number of 11th- and 12th-century charters survive, signed by members of the Bailleul family, which give conclusive proof that their home at the relevant dates was Bailleul near Hazebrouck in the present-day Nord department of France, but then, of course, in Flanders. It appears certain that Guy de Bailleul was present at the Battle of Hastings. The date when the English Balliols first acquired lands in Scotland is obscure. But that they had an interest in the Christian advancement of Scotland is shown by the gift Bernard de Balliol made to the abbey of Kelso in the year 1153, of a fishery in the river Tweed at Wudehorn. Although they chose wives from leading Flemish families, their changes of heraldic symbols (often acquired through such marriages) tend to suggest that the Balliols themselves were not of the aid Charlemagnic nobility - an important factor when judging the lack of support John Balliol received from fellow Flemings when he was trying to acquire for himself and his heirs the crown of Scotland.

### BRUCE

That Brix, in the hinterland behind Cherbourg (the place in Normandy from which the Bruce family supposedly took its 11th-century surname) should have been called after a follower of the first Duke Robert is not impossible. The old stronghold is said to have been given to Robert de Brus's kinsman, Adam - father, brother or son - who built his castle there, perhaps after the family had come to Normandy in the retinue of Matilda of Flanders, the Conqueror's bride. The first arms borne in England by the Bruce family - the azure lion of Louvain - shout as loudly as anything could of their connection not only with Flanders but with Queen Maud's grandfather, Count Lambert of Lens, who was the heir of his mother, Maud de Louvain. Maud de Louvain, who married Count Eustace I of Boulogne was the granddaughter of Count Lambert I of Louvain. Her cousin Henry's grandson, Joscelyn, through whom the "comté" of Louvain descended after the failure of the senior line, followed Robert de Brus in bringing the blue lion to England. Robert (later "de Bruis") must have been a younger grandson of Count Lambert I and therefore a first cousin of Maud de Louvain. When Joscelyn de Louvain came to England in the mid 12th century to marry the heiress of the Percys, it was natural for Robert de Brus to yield up the azure lion to him as the senior representative here of the family, and Robert adopted the device thereafter associated with Bruce - the saltire.

The saltire was a known device of Flanders and in the 12th century, it was borne by a noble family of Flanders called Praet. In the early years of the 11th century they were castellans of Bruges, known to be "noble and rich" though their ancestry is unrecorded. Robert de Brus himself may once have been known as Robert de Bruges, since a man of that name and title holds the castellany from 1046 and probably earlier, until he disappears from Flemish records in 1053. That was the year in which Matilda of Flanders married William, Duke of Normandy. It is certain that many nobles of her country attended Matilda into the Duchy, and there is no reason

why Robert de Bruges of the princely houses of Louvain and Boulogne should not have been among them. Did one of his sons, Adam, build a castle at Brix, near Cherbourg, and another, Robert, came to England after Domesday to claim the lands awarded here to his father for loyalty to the Conqueror's wife?

We may note that the arms of the city of Bruges, adopted by its burghers in the 13th century and said to have been taken from the bearings of its castellans, show a lion rampant azure. It is possible to trace the castellans of Bruges back in time from the family of Nesle, who took over the office in 1134. Ralph de Nesle's predecessor was Gervaise de Praet (of the saltire), who was given the office after the murder of Count Charles the Good by the Erembalds in 1127. The Erembalds were an ignoble family who brought great scandal to Flanders, culminating in the murder of its Count. They had held the Bruges castellany from 1067, having acquired it through another murder, this time of the incumbent, Castellan Baldran. Baldran's immediate predecessor was that Robert de Bruges who left the office in 1053, the year of the marriage between Matilda of Flanders and Normandy's Duke William. A Hainaut family, de Carnière, bore for arms a saltire and from at least the 12th century held estates near the home of Count Lambert de Lens. No connection with Praet has so far been uncovered but de Carnière had connections with another noble family, Heverlee of Louvain, who used the same arms; and one of the lordships in their fiefdom was called Brus.

### CAMERON

One would not wish to disturb the legends of this brave and chivalrous family. But it might be sensible to point out that Cameroen (Flemish for Cambron), which is one of the earliest forms of the name, is a small place in Hainaut, less than five miles from Lens where Count Lambert, grandfather of Queen Maud of Scotland, had his home. The arms of Cameron - the famous three bars of Lochiel's shield - were the same as those of the great frontier family of Oudenaarde, peers of Flanders, advocates (or defenders) of the abbey at Ename, East Flanders, and soldiers who worked closely with the counts of Alost to keep their country's eastern border. Oudenaarde is about 25 miles northwest of Cambron, in a tightly knit region where all the leading families were related to each other. Gillespick, the first Cameron and usually allotted an initial date of 1057 and a Celtic parentage, is the Gaelic translation, meaning "servant of the Church", of the Flemish name Erkenbald - a transformation which is said to have arisen out of a mistaken belief that the "bald" syllable in Erkenbald referred to a monk's tonsure, whereas "bald" in Flemish means bold.

### CAMPBELL

It was the 8th Duke of Argyll who used to cry: "I am pure Celt"; however, there is no doubt at all that the arms of Campbell are anciently the arms of the Baldwins, Counts of Flanders. And it has to be stressed that with the extremely strong Flemish presence at the medieval Scottish court, there could be no possibility of any arms of Flanders, but above all, the comital bearings, being borne by a man not of that blood.

The device is a strange one, rare in heraldry. It seems to have arisen out of the chequers of Vermandois. The connection with Vermandois is important because Harelbeke, the first seat of the counts of Flanders, was old Vermandois territory. When Count Baldwin I moved his seat of government to Gent about 1160, he discarded the Vermandois colours for his own famous black lion on a shield of gold.

The first Campbell of whom we have note bore the thoroughly Flemish name of Erkenbald, written in Scotland as Archibald and translated into Gaelic as Gillespic, or “servant of the Church”. Gillespic Campbell married Eva, daughter and heiress of Paul O’Dwin, the native lord of Lochow. At that time the western part of the country was not in the hands of the king. Norwegians of Orcadian descent held parts of it, and the rest was controlled by Somerled, lord of Argyll. It was not until the end of the 13th century, when the Norwegian threat had been pushed back, that the Campbell name began to appear in official documents of the region. Up till then, Gillespic Campbell and his heirs might have kept a discreet profile in the west until the quarrel with the men of Lorn in the 1290s, which the Campbells won at the cost of the death in 1294 of their chief and hero, Colin Campbell or Cailean Mor. His son, Sir Neil Campbell of Lochow, married the sister of Robert Bruce.

### COMYN

Robert de Comines was made Earl of Northumberland by William the Conqueror in 1069. In 1133, William Comyn, his grandson or great-nephew (the exact relationship is not known) was appointed High Chancellor of Scotland by David I. One of his nephews, Richard, received from David’s son, Prince Henry, the lands of Linton Roderick, in Roxburghshire, which were the first Scottish possessions of this great family. These men of Combines, who became Coming, Cumin, Cumming, were Fleming’s. The

town of Comines is nowadays a substantial place on the border between France and Belgium. In the 11th century it was a small manorial estate in Hainaut belonging to the Count of St Pal whose surname was Campdavene. The St Pal arms have become the famous mark of Comyn-William Comyn’s brother Richard married Hextilda, the granddaughter of Donald Bane, slain in 1097. We know from the *Regesta Rerum Scottorum* and other sources that a 13th-century Count of St Pal -- by then not any longer Campdavene but Chatillon had built for himself “in Inverness that is in Moray a wonderful ship, so that in it he could boldly cross the sea with the Flemings.

### CRAWFORD

The first adequately recorded member of the Crawford (or Crawford) family is John, stepson of Baldwin the Fleming, of Biggar, who was given lands near Crawford which thereafter became known as Crawfordjohn. Towards the end of the 12th century, William de Lindsay came into Crawford and made the place impregnable by building Tower Lindsay.

The Crawford arms are known to have been borne by castellans of Douai. The labyrinthine inter-relationships of the Flemish nobility in their own country continued into England and Scotland, and there are other clues to the origin of the Crawford arms. Baldwin of Biggar is sometimes described, apparently because of his wife, as Baldwin of Multon. The place is nowadays identified as Moulton in Lincolnshire; its first known holder the Anglo-Flemish Lambert of Multon, also held estates in the north, among them Egremont in Cumberland. Egremont derives from Aigremont, near Lille, then in Flanders though now in the Nord department of France. The lords of Aigremont were peers of Lille, advocates of Tournai, and crusaders. Their arms were identical with those of Crawford.

### DOUGLAS

Although William de Douglas was the first known owner of Douglasdale, holding that land between 1174 and 1213, there is no reason to doubt that his father was “Theobaldo Flamatico” or Theobald the Fleming. The family’s arms indicate the kinship with Murray and a descent like

that of Brodie and Innes, from a third son of the house of Boulogne. In Flanders there was a family of the Theobalds who were hereditary castellans of Ypres between about 1060 and 1127, after which their history becomes obscure. Theobald's lands in Scotland were granted to him soon after 1150 by the Abbot of Kelso. William de Douglas, the heir, having married the sister of Friskin de Kerdale or Freskin of Moray, had by her six sons; the five younger of them all went to Moray to support their uncle there and his own heir, Archenbald, stayed in Lanarkshire to inherit the Douglas estates. He married a daughter of Sir John Crawford.

### FLEMING

Of Biggar in Lanarkshire, Baldwin the Fleming was given the onerous sheriffdom of Lanarkshire by David I. He married the unnamed widow of Reginald, fourth son of Alan, Earl of Richmond, and her son John Of Crawford was to become one of his knights. A sure guide to Baldwin's ancestry must lie in his armorial bearings which has a double tressure. The tressure is unknown as a heraldic device in any country except Scotland and Flanders, the latter's use being the earlier. Even there, only one family is shown in surviving records as having borne it, the mighty lords of Gavere, in the province of Gent. A Lord of Gavere married Eve, Lady of Chièvres, about 1130, and their son, Razo IV sported the double tressure on his shield. Eve's family had been represented in the Conqueror's army by William de Chièvres who became a powerful baron of Devon. At what date Baldwin left Devon for Scotland is not known. His descendants became the Earls of Wigton and Lords Fleming of Cumbernauld.

### GRAHAM

William de Graham first appears in Scotland within a year or two of David's accession, having been given lands at Dalkeith. He came from Grantham in Lincolnshire (spelt Graham in medieval times), bearing the escallops of Hesdin, and there can be no doubt that he was the younger son of Arnulf de Hesdin. Arnulf's death at Antioch had left three unprotected children. Walter, the elder boy, must have gone back to Hesdin, where he eventually inherited the "comté"; Avelina succeeded to her father's English possessions; she became the wife of Alan Fitz Flaald and, by him, ancestress of the Scottish Stewart kings. One of William's descendants was the Duke of Montrose.

### HAY

The ancestor of the Scottish Hay family, William de La Haie, came to Scotland in the reign of David I and became butler to both Malcolm IV and William the Lion. His place of origin was named La Haie, near Loos in west Flanders whose lords served the castellans of Lille; their device was exactly like that of the Scottish Hay. The first castellans of Lille descended from the noble Fleming, Saswalo of Phalempin. Their charter surname, *de Insula*, appears many times in British history and Roger de Insula was the ancestor of the lords Lyle in Scotland. One of his grandsons married Matilda of Wavrin whose family was also of Lille and who could trace their descent from Charlemagne by several lines.

### INNES

Berowald was in possession of land named after himself at Berowald's (or Bo'ness, once the third seaport of Scotland, having a considerable trade with the Low Countries) in West Lothian in the 1150s. He was a man of considerable rank and distinction and by a charter of Malcolm IV in 1154, he was given lands in Moray at Innes and Easter Urquhart. In that charter he is described as Berowaldo Flandrensi -Berowald the Fleming. The award was made in recognition of his good services in putting down the rebellious natives of Moray, and one of the charter

witnesses was William, son of Freskin, the ancestor of the Murrays. Berowald's arms are symbolically the same as Freskin's, with tinctures changed and tressure omitted, as would be proper for a younger member of the family founding his own dynasty.

### LINDSAY

Baldwin of Alost and his younger brother, Gilbert de Ghent, companion of the Conqueror, were sons of Ralph of Alost and cadets of Guines. Gilbert de Ghent, Earl of Lincoln, was father of Walter de Lindsay, ancestor of the Scottish family of Lindsay.

### MURRAY

All chroniclers agree that Freskin was a Fleming who was in Scotland in the reign of David I, and was initially allotted estates at Strathbrock in West Lothian. He took part in quelling the insurrection of 1130 in Moray, and was thereafter given the task of defending that county and awarded the extensive lands necessary to do so, his headquarters being at Duffus where he built a mighty fortress. Freskin's arms, which have passed to his ultimate descendants, the Murray dukes of both Atholl and Sutherland, were the colours and devices of a third son of Boulogne - the family of David's queen. (The ancient earldom of Atholl bore the colours of Flanders). As a personal name, Freskin does not appear in Flemish dictionaries. It is presumed to be a nickname, perhaps meaning "the one with the frizzy hair or curly-headed".

### OLIPHANT

The manor of Lilford, Northamptonshire was held at Domesday by the Countess Judith, and her under-tenant there was her nephew, Walter the Fleming. The spelling given in Domesday Book is Lilleford, but the place was also known as Holy Ford. The first Holyford, Olifard or Oliphant of Lilford of whom we have note was Roger, who witnessed a charter to St Andrew's Priory, Northampton, for Simon de Senlis, first husband of Scotland's Queen Maud. Roger's successor at Lilford was William, and the David Oliphant born there about 1120 who was godson of Maud's second husband, David of Scotland, was William's son.

The war between King Stephen and the Empress Maud was a difficult one for all Flemings, but David Oliphant's dilemma was more acute than most. While fighting for Stephen at Winchester in 1141, young Oliphant became aware that his royal godfather, fighting on the other side, was in great peril. At the risk of his own life he saved the Scottish king and hid him until the way was clear for an escape over the Border. Although the Oliphants continued to hold Lilford until 1266 (when it passed to their kinsman, Walter de Mai-ay), David Oliphant followed his godfather to Scotland and spent the rest of his life there, serving him loyally and wisely as justiciar of Lothian. His heraldic device was that of a second son of Boulogne, so David Oliphant was of the family of Lens like Queen Maud.

### SETON

The name derived from the Yorkshire small harbour village of Staithes, nine miles north of Whitby and was in the 11th century called Seaton Staithes. It was a stronghold for the Seatons. After Domesday but before the end of the 11th century the family name had been drawn inland, most portentously to Rutland, where at the new manor of Seaton the Lady Maud de Lens and her sister Alice were spending the betrothal period before their marriages. Maud's Scottish son, Prince Henry, would pass the name to Seaton, Cumbria, where he established a cell of his abbey at Holmcultram. Earlier than either of these moves, it went to the Firth of Forth where Queen Maud's premier Flemish relative, her uncle Seier "de Seton" built his great place for the



protection of herself and her heirs. As their own distinctive crescents show, Seier de Seton and his brother Walter sprang from a second son of the house of Boulogne, Count Lambert de Lens who was the grandfather of Scotland's Queen Maud. On the Firth of Forth, Seier was called Dougall or "the dark stranger", a nickname which was also given to his son Walter

### STEWART

The descent of this family from the Breton, Alan Fitz Flaald, is well known and need not be re-told here but the significant ancestry enjoyed by his son Walter, founder of Paisley Abbey and steward to Scottish kings, came through his mother, Avelina de Hesdin. It was the blood of the counts of Hesdin which was venerated in Flanders, and it was that noble heritage which persuaded those Flemings who had made their home and their patrimony in Scotland, to allow Walter's descendants to occupy its throne. But Alan Fitz Flaald himself possessed a thought-provoking ancestry which it would be unwise to ignore. The Breton Count of Dol appointed his forebear Flaald or Flathauld (? or Fleaunce) to the position of steward or dapifer in his Celtic household. The legend of Banquo's murder by Macbeth and the flight of his son, Fleaunce, southward, was well known in Scotland long before Shakespeare's day; the playwright's information was drawn from Scottish histories. What has never been explored by this legend's detractors is the close connection between medieval Wales, to which Fleaunce had immediately fled, and Brittany, to whose charters Flaald and his family were contributing in the second half of the 11th century. Church paths - the so-called "saints' paths" between Wales and Brittany were very well trodden in the 11th century, and the inhabitants of the two countries could speak each other's language. Alan Fitz Flaald's descent from Banquo, thane of Lochaber, need not be summarily dismissed; its attractiveness to those who wish to retain Scotland as a wholly Celtic monarchy is understandable.

Annette Hardie - Stoffelen

### Sources

Beryl PLATTS, "Origins of Heraldry", 1980; "Scottish Hazard" Vol.I, 1985, Vol.II, 1990, Procter Press, London.

J.Arnold FLEMING, "Flemish Influence in Britain", 1930, Jackson, Wylie & Co, Glasgow.

# "The Flemings in South-West Wales

The deliberate introduction of Flemish settlers to south-west Wales by King Henry I was to transform the landscape and culture of the region.

The Flemings were to become a thriving and distinctive community, retaining their own language and racial identity for more than a century.

In the 1180s, the scholar-cleric Gerald of Wales (d.1223) described the settlers of his native Pembrokeshire as 'strong and hardy people...a people who spared no labour and feared no danger by sea or by land in their search for profit; a people as well fitted to follow the plough as to wield the sword'.

It was the Norman flair for economic reorganization which led them to introduce Flemish settlers to occupy newly-conquered territories and areas of waste land. Such a process of deliberate colonization and manorial settlement was to underpin every stage of their military success. The Normans were by no means unique in this respect; it was the approach also adopted, for example, by the counts of Champagne and Flanders. Driven from their homeland by incursions of the sea and by overpopulation, the Flemings migrated far in search of new lands and economic fortune. They may well have played a significant part in the Norman colonization of Ireland, and they settled extensively in northern England and parts of Scotland. They also moved east from their homeland, traveling beyond the river Elbe in Germany to settle the native forests of central Europe. "

# The Flemish Language

**Language information:** Flemish is by some considered a separate language, mostly for what amounts to political reasons. In reality, Flemish and Hollandic do not exist as a language, but are Dutch dialects

The Flemish dialects are subdivided into Eastern Flemish and Western Flemish.

Eastern Flemish varieties are used in most of the Belgian province of Eastern Flanders and also in parts of the Netherlands' province of Zeeland-Flanders. The boundaries and characteristics of this group are not very clearly defined, mostly due to a complex mixture of Flemish substrates, Brabantish superstrates and Standard Dutch, French, German and Spanish influences.

The West Flemish varieties, on the other hand, are fairly clearly defined and are less influenced, except by French, and this has been the basis of claims of separate language status. It is used mostly in Western Flanders and in French Flanders, being severely endangered in the latter.

Like **Low Saxon**, Western Flemish and some neighboring varieties of Zeeland are phonologically rather conservative in that they have not participated in certain shifts from long vowels to diphthongs.

Flemish exerted some influence on **Scots** and **Scottish English** and also on some **English** dialects of Northern England, due to Flemish textile workers having immigrated to Lowlands Scotland and Northern England, many of them via Wales. An apparent example of a Flemish borrowing in Scots is *tae keek* 'to take a peek'; cf. Flemish *kiek'n* ([*'ki:kŋ*], Dutch *kijken* [*'kai:k*], Low Saxon *kieken* [*'k'i:kŋ*]) 'to (take a) look'.



Flemish art has enjoyed world fame for centuries, such as this painting of a 16th-century Flemish street festival ("The Fight Between Carnival and Lent") by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1525–30–1569).

# The Influence of Low Dutch on the English Vocabulary

E.C. Llewellyn

## The Settlement of Low Dutch in England, and General Intercourse

### 1. 1. 1. 1.

In the Middle English period the Low Dutch people which had the most intercourse with English was naturally enough the Flemish. Most of the Flemings who came over with William I were soldiers, and these did not all return to the Continent when the Conquest was completed. Some were planted out at special points as military colonies, as, for example, that under Gherbord at Chester. This policy was continued by William II, who established a military colony at Carlisle.

William I replaced the higher native English clergy by foreigners, and Flemings had their share in the appointments, e.g. Hereman, Bishop of Salisbury, Giso of St. Trudo, Bishop of Wells, Walter, Bishop of Hereford, and Geoffrey of Louvain, Bishop of Bath.

Thierry states that not only soldiers, ecclesiastics, and traders, but whole families came over. Matilda, William's queen, was the daughter of Count Baldwin V of Flanders, and doubtless she had many Flemings in her train.

The immigration of Flemings went on steadily after the Conquest and in such numbers that Henry I did not know what to do with them. There is a tradition that in his reign an incursion of the sea made thousands homeless in the Low Countries and that the refugees came to England. They were settled first on the Tweed, but four years later were transferred to Wales. These settlements were reinforced in 1105 and 1106, and according to Florence of Worcester Henry sent another large body to South Wales in 1111. The colonies at Haverfordwest, Tenby, Gower, and Ross may have been intended to keep the Welsh in check; at any rate that was the result, for the districts settled lost entirely their Welsh character, and the dialects spoken in them to-day retain in vocabulary a pronounced Flemish element. Some of the Flemish mercenaries who came in Stephen's time were deported to Wales.

The Flemish immigration into Scotland also was considerable. The shores of the Clyde received a large settlement at the time of the expulsion of the Flemings from England by Henry II. A colony at Berwick held the Redhall there by the tenure of defending it against the English. Many Scottish armies had a Flemish element, whether mercenaries or a levy of the settlers it is impossible to state. At the Battle of the Standard in 1138 there was a Flemish contingent under a son of Gilbert of Ghent; and they were present also in the expedition of William the Lion in 1173-4. The Flemish element in the early Scottish towns was so large that a writ was actually addressed, 'Francis et Anglis et Flamingis et Scotis'. Berwick appears to have had a separate gild of Flemish merchants, and when Bishop Robert was desirous of creating a burgh at his new see of St. Andrews, one Mainerd, a Flemish burgess of Berwick, was transferred as its new provost. There is evidence of Flemish colonies at St. Andrews, Edinburgh, and Perth. The Low Dutch immigrants in Aberdeen and Moray were associated with the Hanse which existed in northern Scotland in the 13th century.

There does not seem to have been any single, large influx of Flemings in the 13th century comparable to those of the previous century; but a constant stream of traders and artisans from Flanders maintained the intercourse. In 1272, however, England and Flanders, usually so friendly, severed commercial relations; all Flemings not engaged in weaving were ordered to leave the country.

All the chivalry of England was assembled at London in 1296 for the wedding of Marguerite, daughter of Edward I, and John of Brabant. The Duke had a train of over eighty knights and sixty ladies. Crowds of foreign minstrels, harpers, acrobats, and buffoons appeared at the festivities, and this is a fact of some importance as throwing light on one of the means of entry of Low Dutch words into cant and slang.

## 1. 2. 1. 2.

A closer connexion between England and the Low Countries was brought about by the marriage of Edward III and Philippa, daughter of William II, Count of Holland, Zeeland, and Hainault. Edward's mother, Isabella, had received substantial help from the Count in her struggle against her husband, and the engagement had been the outcome of this. This Dutch marriage was favourable to English interests, the Dutch being friendly allies united by commercial interests.

In the sparring preliminary to the Hundred Years War, England was in the closest diplomatic relations with many of the Low Dutch states and especially with Flanders.

In order to consolidate his Low Dutch alliances Edward made, in 1338, a continental tour. He sailed to Antwerp with a numerous fleet, set up his court in that city, entertained the Flemish and Brabanter lords with the most lavish hospitality, made commercial treaties with the towns of Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Louvain, Diest, Brussels, Mechlin, and Cologne. Then he travelled by way of Breda and Juliers to Cologne and on into the Rhineland, spending such huge sums of money that when he returned to Antwerp he was forced to borrow 54,000 florins from three citizens of Mechlin. His allies took some part in his fruitless invasion of France in 1339. After more conferences, one of which restored the wool staple to Flanders, Edward returned to England. Queen Philippa had been left behind with her court at Ghent, and there she gave birth to a son, the famous John of Gaunt. The Flemings remained in the closest alliance with England. The French continued to try to detach them and at last were successful, for in 1371 the Flemings committed outrages on English shipping, and as a result all Flemings resident in England were arrested. But Flanders could never afford to be on bad terms with England for long.

The Peasants' Rising of 1381 proved disastrous to foreigners resident in England. The Flemings were especially unpopular through their number and through their competition in work and trade, which tended to lower wages. In London all suspected of Flemish blood were made to pronounce the phrase 'bread and cheese', and if the words sounded anything like 'brod and case', off went their heads. Thirty to forty Flemings who had sought refuge in the church of St. Martin's in the Vintry were dragged out and beheaded. In Norwich, too, when Lytster and his mob invaded the city, six unfortunate Flemings were done to death.

Knights from the Low Countries were sometimes present in the 14th century at tournaments in England. At a great jousting held for three days at Smithfield in 1390 there were present men of rank from Holland and Germany, among them the Count of Ostrevant, son of the Duke of Holland. He was afterwards admitted to the Order of the Garter.

Throughout the 15th century diplomatic relations were continuous between England and the Low Countries. There were some important marriage alliances; in 1424 Jacqueline of Holland was married to the Duke of Gloucester, and in 1467-8 Charles the Bold married Margaret of York, and many English people went in her train to attend the festivities and jousts. Sir John Paston, we know, was present. Margaret retained some English at her court in Bruges; Caxton was with her in 1470.

During the Wars of the Roses many Englishmen took refuge in the Low Countries. The princes George and Richard of York were sent for safety to Utrecht. Other prominent refugees were Lord Ross, the Earl of Wiltshire, and Bishop Morton, while Edward IV fled in 1470 to Flanders to gather strength for his successful return to Ravenspur.

### 1. 3.1. 3.

The religious differences of the Reformation divided Europe into two camps. Owing to continuous persecution migration became a necessity for a large part of the industrial population of Germany and the Low Countries. Their prime object was not to discover a country that offered special advantages to their particular callings, but to secure an asylum where they could live according to their own convictions. That they exercised an enormous economic and industrial influence the other chapters of this book prove, but this result was incidental; the motive that brought them here was not industrial but religious.

This religious immigration must have begun early. Among the lists of those who were proceeded against for heresy in 1521, in the times when ecclesiastical authorities were still concerned with preserving England from the contagion of the new doctrines which were being widely spread on the Continent, are names which are suggestive of Flemish extraction. The numbers of the immigrants must have been considerable. Froude states that there were 15,000 Flemings in London as early as 1527. In 1536 the strangers in London were called to take part in repressing the rebellion of that year; the French tailors and the Flemish shoemakers are specifically mentioned. The congregations of the refugees were dispersed at the accession of Mary, but liberty of worship came to them again from Elizabeth. As the aspect of affairs in the Low Countries became more threatening, the numbers of the refugees increased; it is said that in 1560 more than 10,000 came over, mainly from Antwerp, and in the following year 30,000. In 1567 the advent of Alva and the triumph of the policy of persecution increased the immigration, and another impetus was given to it by Parma's suppression of the rebellion in Flanders in 1581.

The reception of the refugees was on the whole extremely friendly. We find the corporation of Norwich petitioning to have families settled in their town, and thirty families of Dutch weavers were sent to them. It was inevitable, however, that the industrial question should be raised in many places and in many trades. The fresh trade which the immigrants brought tended to remove much of this jealousy, and they were gradually absorbed into the life of the towns. The Government did not look upon all the sects with favour; the political views of the Anabaptists made them obnoxious, and in 1575 thirteen Dutch and Flemish Anabaptists were burnt as heretics. There were Low Dutch communities in many towns; the largest was in London (in 1618 it had 10,000, mostly Flemings and Walloons), and there were settlements in Norwich, Sandwich (where 406 persons settled in 1561 to engage in weaving and fishing), Canterbury, Maidstone, Southampton, Lynn, Rye, Colchester, Ipswich, Thetford, Stamford, and Dover.

### 1. 4.1. 4.

Intercourse with Holland in the 17th century was of two kinds. Englishmen visited Holland and became familiarized with Dutch political, industrial, and commercial practice. During the Civil War and the Commonwealth many Royalists found a refuge in Holland; when the Commonwealth envoy Doreslaat was murdered at The Hague by some of these refugees, the assassins remained unpunished under the pretext that they could not be discovered among the many English there. Of the last half of the century it would be true to say that there was hardly a leading man, from Charles II downwards, who had not had some experience of Dutch conditions. But beside the visitors to Holland there were also immigrants from Holland. It is not easy to assess how much each of these classes had to do with the conscious imitation of the Dutch which went on during this period. It is at least true to say that the immigrants took a leading part in suggesting and carrying out the changes by which many English activities were brought into close accord with the Dutch model. There was a long preparation in

1. 4.A.I. 193-4; I.C. II. 208; Bl. IV. 157.

the deliberate imitation of Dutch methods, or the nation would not have been ready to welcome William III.

The following were the main lines of approach: (1) through commerce - Dutch business men came to a country where commerce was developing rapidly, and they entered into keen competition with the London merchants both in trade and finance, even assisting in the financial affairs of state; (2) through artisans who came in the wake of the Dutch capitalists; (3) through the military element, which was comparatively unimportant, though William brought a few regiments from Holland which did not return there, but were garrisoned permanently in England and Ireland. It is evident that the United Provinces were for England a more apposite model than was France at this time.

## 1. 5.

The proper names of Low Dutch countries, nations, and districts were borrowed from the various Low Dutch dialects. It is impossible to specify the particular channel of introduction; they could have come in by way of trade, travel, or war, or through political intercourse. Very interesting are the names of Northern, Baltic, and South German countries and peoples which came into English through the medium of Low Dutch.

**Dutch** (c. 1460), of or pertaining to the people of Germany; (1568), of the Low Dutch people of the Netherlands and Holland; (1592), of or belonging to the Dutch: as a sb. (o. 1380, Wyclif), the German language in any of its forms; (1647), the language of Holland or the Netherlands; (1577), the Dutch; ad. M.Du. *dutsch*, *duutsch*, *duutsc* (e.mod.Du. *duytsch*, Du. *duitsch*). The senses of the word have changed in English to correspond to political changes on the Continent: in the 15th and 16th centuries it was applied to all divisions of the German people and to all dialects of the German language; after the United Provinces became an independent State, the term was restricted to the people and the Nederduytsche dialect of the Netherlands, as being the branch of the Dutch with whom the English came most into contact in the 17th century. In Holland itself, *duitsch* is generally restricted to the language of Germany proper.

The terms for Flemish and Fleming are recorded surprisingly late, if the early and intimate intercourse with Flanders is borne in mind. **Flandrish** (c. 1386, Ch.), Flemish. **Fleming** (c. 1430, Lydg.), a native of Flanders; (1595), a Flemish vessel; ad. M.Du. *Vlâming*, from *Flâm*, Flanders, and the suffix *-ing*. **Flanders**

(1460), used attributively; (1690), short for (a) Flanders lace, (b) Flanders horse; ad. Du. *Vlaanderen*, plur., the name of the ancient countship. **Flemish** (1488), of or belonging to Flanders or its inhabitants; ad. M.Du. *Vlaemisch* (Du. *Vlaamsche*). **Flanderkin** (1694), a Fleming; from *Flanders* and *-kin*.

**Holland** (a. 1400, *Morte Arth.*), the name of a province of the northern Netherlands; from Du. *Holland*, originally *Holtlant*, from *holt*, wood, and *lant*, land, i.e. the district around Dordrecht, the nucleus of the original county of Holland. **Hollander** (1547), a native of Holland, a Dutchman; also a Dutch ship; from *Holland* and the suffix *-er*. **Hollandish** (1611, Coryat), of or belonging to Holland, Dutch; from *Holland* and the suffix *-ish*.

**Friese** (1481, Cax.), Frisian; ad. M.Du. *Vriese*. **Frisian** (1598), of or pertaining to the people of Friesland, an inhabitant of Friesland, the language of Friesland; from L. *Frīsī*, plur., ad. the native name, O.Fris. *Frise*, *Frese* (Du. *Vries*, M.Du. *Vriese*), a Frisian, and the suffix *-an*. An exactly similar formation is **Batavian** (1598), of or pertaining to the ancient Batavi, of or pertaining to Holland or the Dutch, a Dutchman or Netherlander; this is from L. *Batavia*, the name given by the Romans to the people who lived in the part of Holland between the Rhine and the Waal, now known as Betuwe, and the suffix *-an*.

**Zealander** (1573), a native of Zeeland, a province of the Netherlands; from *Zeeland* (Du. *Zeeland*) and the suffix *-er*. **Netherlandish** (1600), of or pertaining to the Netherlands; ad. Du.



*Nederlandsch*, or from *Netherland* and the suffix *-ish*. **Netherlander** (1610), an inhabitant of the Netherlands or Holland, formerly including Flanders or Belgium; ad. Du. *Nederlander*. **Flushinger** (1689), a Flushing sailor or vessel; from *Flushing* (Du. *Vlissingen*), the name of a Dutch port, and the suffix *-er*. **Walcheren** (1810), the Walcheren fever; from the name of a Dutch island in Zealand; the name came into English during the Napoleonic wars, when an English army in Walcheren was decimated by this fever.

**Lubecker** (1627), a Lubeck merchant vessel; from *Lübeck* and the suffix *-er*. **Rhineland** (1675), the country around the River Rhine; ad. Du. *Rijnland* or G. *Rheinland*.

The following are Northern, Baltic, and South German names which have passed into English through the medium of Low Dutch. **Sweden** (1503), the country; (1650), a Swede; ad. MLG.,

Du. *Sweden* (Du. *Zweden*), probably the dative plur. of the national name *Swede*; the OE. forms *Swēōland*, *Swēōrice*, *Sweorice*, did not survive; in early 17th-century usage, *Sweden* appears as the name of the people and *Swedeland* as the name of the country. **Swede** (1614), an inhabitant of Sweden; ad. MLG., M.Du. *Swede* (Du. *Zweed*); here also the OE. plur. form *Swēōn* did not survive; ON. has *Svíar*, Sw. *Svear*, and it has been conjectured that the forms with *-d-*, *Swede* and *Sweden*, arose out of ON. *Svíþjóð*, lit. 'Swede people'. **Swedish** (1632), from *Sweden* or *Swede* and the suffix *-ish*, perhaps after G. *schwedisch*, M.Du. *swedesch*, *sweets(ch)*, Du. *zweedsch*.

**Easterling** (1534), a native of eastern Germany or the Baltic coasts, chiefly applied to the citizens of the Hanse towns; apparently from *easter* and *-ling*, probably after Du. *oosterling*; the word is not found in English before the 16th century, but occurs as AF. and AL. *sterling(us)*, *esterling(us)*, but only in the sense of 'sterling penny'.

**Overlander** (a. 1548), a dweller in the uplands of a country, a highlander, spec. one dwelling in the highlands of Germany, as opposed to a Netherlander or Low German; apparently ad. Du. *Overlander* (G. *Oberländer*), a dweller in the Oberland or upper country. **Switzer** (1577), a native of Switzerland; ad. M.Du. *Switser*, *Swytzer* (Du. *Zwitser*), or MHG. *Switzer*, *Schwytzer*.

**Norse** (1598), a Norwegian, the language; probably ad. Du. *noorsch*, a variant of *noordsch* (M.Du. *no(o)rdsch*, *no(o)rtsch*), from *noord*, north, and *-sch*, *-ish*; MLG. had *norrisch*.

## 1. 6.

It is impossible to specify the channel of introduction for the names of rulers, officials, and dignitaries. The most probable is by way of political intercourse, but they could have come in equally well by way of trade or travel.

**Schepen** (c. 1481), a Dutch alderman or petty magistrate; ad. Du. *schepen*. **Schout** (c. 1481), a municipal or administrative officer in the Low Countries and the Dutch colonies; originally the schout was the lord's bailiff in a subject town or village; ad. Du. *schout*, M.Du. *schout*, *schoutet*, *schouthet*. The variants *schoutet*, *schouthet* have given the English **Scoutette**, **Scouttet** (1534). **Scult** (1548) is from the corresponding LG. *schulte* (MLG. *schulte* and *schultête*).

**Boroughmaster** (1494), a Dutch or Flemish burgomaster; similar functionaries in other countries; probably formed in imitation of the M.Flem. *burgemeester*. The usual form is

**Burgomaster** (1592), from Du. *burgemeester*; Northern F. had *bourguemaistre*, ad. M.Flem. *burchmeester*, and it is possible that the F. is the immediate source of the English word.

**Burghermaster** (1676) is from *burgher* and *master*, but the combination may have existed already in Du. as *burger* and *meester*.

Other combinations in *-master* are: **Scaffmaster** (1555), a steward; ad. Du. *schaf-*, *scaffmeester*, from *schaffen*, to provide, and *meester*, master. **Wardmaster** (1855), in Dutch history, an alderman, an administrator of a city ward; this is a rendering of Du. *wijkmeester*.

Various combinations of *Grave* appear before *Grave* itself. **Palsgrave** (1548), a count Palatine; ad. 16th-century Du. *paltsgreve* (Kilian), Du. *paltsgraaf*. **Rhinegrave** (1548), a count whose domain borders on the Rhine; ad. M.Du. *Rijngreve*. **Margrave** (1551), a German title originally given to the military governor of a border province; ad. M.Du. *markgrave* (Du. *markgraaf*). The wife of a margrave is a **Markgravine** (1692), ad. Du. *markgravin*, the feminine of *markgraaf*. **Dikegrave** (1563), in Holland, an officer in charge of the dikes or sea-walls; ad. M.Du. *dijcgrave* (Du. *dijkgraaf*), from *dijk*, dike, and *grave*. **Grave** (1605), a count, chiefly used of the Counts of Nassau; ad. M.Du. *grave* (Du. *graaf*).

**Portery, Portary** (1565, from Sc.), citizenship or burghership in a Flemish or Dutch city; the body of citizens collectively; the rights and privileges of a burgher; in the quotation of 1565, *Reg. Privy Council Scotl.*, the reference is to Scottish merchants or factors resident in Flanders; ad. M.Flem. *porterie*, *porterije*, from *porter*, citizen, from *port*, town, city. **Burgher** (1568), a citizen; in this sense it is now somewhat archaic; in the 16th century, *burgher*, ad. Du. or e.mod.G. *burger*, citizen of a *burg* or fortified town; the origin of the Du. word is HG.

**Amtman** (1587), 'one in charge', a bailiff, steward, magistrate, officer; the term is used in Germany, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia; ad. M.Du. *ambtman*, *amtman*, *amman*, or MLG. *amtman*, *amptman*. **Stadholder, Stadtholder** (1591), the governor of a fortress; (1668), in Netherlands history; ad. Du. *stadhouder*, one who occupies another's place, a lieutenant, from *stad*, place, and *houder*, holder.

**Hogen Mogen** (c. 1645, Howell), their High Mightinesses, the States General; (1672), hence the Dutch, a Dutchman, contemptuous; a popular corruption or perversion of the Du.

*Hoogmogendheden*, High Mightinesses, the title of the States General. **Mynheer** (1652), the courteous form of address or title of courtesy, corresponding in Du. to 'sir' or 'Mr.', hence a Dutchman; Du. *mijnheer*, from *mijn*, my, and *heer*, lord, master.

**Drossard** (1678), a steward, high bailiff, prefect; ad. Du. *drossaard*, a transformation through *drossaet*, *drossaert* (Kilian, 1599) of M.Du. *drossâte*, court functionary, steward. **Postholder** (1812), in Dutch colonial administration, a civil official in charge of a trading post; ad. Du. *posthouder*, from *post*, post, and *houder*, holder.

## 1. 7.

In the Middle English period a number of words appear which seem to have been introduced by vagrants, beggars, and strolling minstrels from the Low Countries. Such people would mix with the corresponding English class along the roads and in the inns, and words from their speech would pass into our vagrants' cant and slang, to appear later, perhaps, in more respectable dialects.

**Bouse, Bowse** (a. 1325, *E.E.P.*, 1567, Harman, *Caveat*), to drink; to drink to excess, or for enjoyment or good fellowship, to swill, guzzle, tipple; ME. *bousen* is apparently from M.Du. *bûsen* (e.mod.Du. *buizen*), to drink to excess; the Du. word is probably related to *buise*, a large drinking-vessel; both vb. and sb. occur once in ME. and then appear as common words in thieves' and beggars' cant in the 16th century, and are then probably reborrowings from Du.; they then passed into colloquial use. The vbl. sb. **Bousing** (a. 1529, Skelton) occurs earlier in the 16th century than the sb. or vb. Since the 18th century both sb. and vb. are often written as **Booze** (sb. 1732, vb. 1768).

**Loiter** (13., *E.E.Allit.P.* as *loltrande*, c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.*), in early use, to idle, to waste one's time in idleness, to linger indolently on the way when sent on an errand or when making a journey; ad. M.Du. *loteren*, to wag about, Du. *leuteren*, to shake, totter, also to dawdle, loiter over one's work (Kilian, *loteren* j *leuteren* 'morari'); the sense which the vb. has in English has not been found in Du. earlier than the 16th century, but may be much older in slang use; O.E.D. states that the word was probably introduced into English by foreign 'loiterers' or vagrants; the diphthong *-oi-* is probably a substitution for the unfamiliar vowel of the Du. word, which was

probably (𐌺). **Loiterer** (1530), one who loiters; in early use, a vagabond, 'sturdy beggar'; this sb. is so much later than the vb. *loiter* that it is perhaps best to consider it a fresh borrowing and directly ad. Du. *leuteraar*. **Louderer** (c. 1425, Wyntoun), a skulker; ad. Du. *lunderaar* (Kilian has *lunderer*), from *lunderen*, to idle.

Two terms of abuse probably entered by this channel. **Scabbard** (c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.*), a scabbed person; this may be from *scab* and the suffix *-ard*, but compare Du. *schobberd*. **Smaik** (c. 1450, from Sc.), a low, mean, or contemptible fellow, a rascal, rogue; perhaps ad. M.Du. or MLG. *smēker*, *smeiker*, from *smēken*, *smeiken*, to flatter.

A term for one of the wandering performers is **Speeler** (1496, from Sc.), a performer, acrobat; probably this is ad. older Flem. or LG. *speler*, player, actor; a formation on the vb. *speel* is less likely.

In the 16th century there is a great influx of words of Low Dutch origin into the cant and slang of thieves, vagrants, and prostitutes. Not all of these came in through Low Dutch people in this country; doubtless many were picked up by the English soldiery, who throughout the period were serving in the Low Country wars. The facility of soldiers in acquiring words of this kind is considerable. Many of the prostitutes of London were Dutch or Flemish; as early as 1381, during the troubles of Wat Tyler, we hear of these 'Flemish froes', and the mob cleaned out the stewhouses of Southwark which they inhabited.

**Landloper, -louper** (15.., trans. of *Bull Pope Martin*, 1580), one who runs up and down the land, a vagabond, adventurer; ad. Du. *landlooper*, from *land*, land, and *loopen*, to run. **Swinger** (1500-20, Dunbar), a rogue, rascal, scoundrel; this is probably a cant term and perhaps a derivative of e.Flem. *swentsen*, which Kilian glosses *vagari* (O.E.D.). **Scaff** (1508, from Sc.), to beg or ask for food in a mean or contemptible manner; perhaps an adoption of the Du. and G. *schaffen* (also borrowed into M.Sw. as *skaffa*), to provide or procure food; this word may have been introduced by soldiers who served in the Low Country wars, and the bad sense of the word in Sc. is then easily understood if for 'to procure food' is read 'to live on the country', or in modern soldiers' slang 'to scrounge'.

A term of prostitution is **Dant** (a. 1529), a profligate woman;

perhaps ad. e.mod.Du. *dante*, which Kilian glosses *ambubara*, *mulier ignava*.

**Monkey** (1530), the simian animal; the MLG. version of 'Reynard the Fox' (1498) has once Moneke as the name of the son of Martin the Ape, but as it does not occur in any other version of 'Reynard', it is hardly the source of the English word; nevertheless, the proper name may reproduce an otherwise unrecorded MLG. *\*moneke*, M.Du. *\*monnekijn*, a colloquial word for monkey, and this may well have been brought to this country by travelling showmen from the Low Countries or Germany.

Two words are from colloquial Dutch. **Segging** (1546, J. Heywood) is used in echoes of the Dutch saying 'zeggen is goed koop', saying is cheap. **Nose-wise** (1566), conceited, clever in one's own opinion; from *nose* and *wise*, but probably after Du. *neuswijs* (LG. *nasewîs*).

**Pad**, vb. (1553), to tread, tramp on foot; it is undoubtedly related to the sb. below and is perhaps formed from it, even though it appears a little earlier; if so, it must be compared with LG. and E.Fris. *padden*, to tread, go along a path. The sb. **Pad** (1567) appears first in Harman's *Caveat*, which is a treasury of the canting speech; it means a path, road, track, way; ad. Du. or LG. *pad*, cognate with English path; the sense of 'highway robber' appears first in 1673.

**Crank** (1567, Harman, *Caveat*), an obsolete word of beggars' cant, in full 'counterfeit crank', a rogue who feigned sickness in order to move compassion and obtain money; apparently ad. Du. or G. *krank*, sick, ill.

A slang word for a German or Dutchman is **Hans** (1569); this is the familiar abbreviated form in G. and Du. of *Johannes*, John.

A term of rogues' cant which has gained general currency is **Dock** (1586), the enclosure in a criminal court in which the prisoner is placed at his trial; it was formerly filled with all the prisoners whose trial was put down for the day; it is the same word as the Flem. *dok*, rabbit-hutch, fowl-pen, cage, in Kilian, *docke*; for the sense-development compare the modern equivalent in thieves' slang, *pen*, the dock.

**Drawl** (1597), to prolong the sounds of speech in an indolent or affected manner; (1652), to move along with slow and loitering pace; O.E.D. states that the word was introduced in vagabonds' cant from LG. or Du.; Du. has a verb *dralen*, to loiter,

linger, delay (in Kilian, *draelen*, 'cunctari, morari, trahere moram'), LG. *drâlen*.

In the 17th century the following cant and slang terms appear. **Skellum** (1611), a rascal, scamp, scoundrel, villain; ad. Du. *schelm*, ad. G. *schelm*, rascal, devil, pestilence; the word passed from LG. into Scand. as ON. *skelmir*, Da. *skelm*, Sw. *skälm*. Another term of abuse is **Skitterbrook** (1632), one who befools his breeches, a coward; ad. Du. *schijte-broek*, with the first element assimilated to *skitter*.

**Kelder** (1646), the womb; ad. Du. *kelder*, cellar. The word occurs a little earlier in the phrase, **Hans-in-Kelder** (1635), the slang term for an unborn child; from the Du. phrase which means literally 'Jack in cellar'.

**Mump** (1651), to overreach, cheat; (1673), to beg, play the parasite; probably ad. Du. *mompen*, to cheat. **Mumper** (1673), a beggar, is from *mump* and the suffix *-er*.

**Ogle** (1682), to cast amorous, coquettish glances; it appeared first as a cant word apparently from Du. or LG.; compare LG. *oegeln*, frequentative of *oegen*, to look at, also e.mod.Du. *oogheler*, *oegheler*, flatterer (Kilian), and for the sense Du. *oogen*, to direct or cast the eyes.

Most of the cant and slang terms recorded first in the 18th and 19th centuries were probably introduced into the language long before. We owe our knowledge of many of them to the interest in the canting speech which found expression in such compilations as Tuff's *Glossary of Thieves' Jargon* (1798), and J.H. Vaux's *Flash Dictionary* (1812).

**Smouse** (1705), a Jew; ad. Du. *smous*, a Jew usurer, supposed to be the same word as the G. dialectal *schmus*, talk, patter, ad. Jewish *schmuoss*, tales, news, the reference being to the persuasive eloquence of the Jew pedlar. **Houndsfoot** (1710), scoundrel, rascal, worthless fellow; ad. Du. *hondsvot* (G. *hundsfoft*), scoundrel, rascal, lit. *cunus canis*, an appellation which is extremely coarse, but whose exact equivalent I have heard in the modern slang of Rotherhithe: Scott revived the term in *Waverley*, probably with no inkling of its real meaning. **Funk**, vb. and sb. (1737-9), vb. to flinch through fear; sb. cowering fear; the word is first mentioned in Oxford slang, and is perhaps, as Lye suggests, ad. Flem. *fonck* (Kilian). **Nix** (1789), nothing, nobody; ad. colloquial Du. and G. *nix* for *nichts*; the word has been revived in modern slang under the influence of the American

film caption, and in American it is probably from the New York dialect and so probably Du.

**Prad** (1798), a horse; by metathesis from Du. *paard*, horse; this metathesis may have been made deliberately under one of the many systems of alteration of word-form in order to mystify the uninitiated; this is by no means impossible, but alteration to *darp* or *drap* would be more likely.

**Spellken** (c. 1800), a theatre; from *spell* and *ken*. **Spell** (1812), a playhouse or theatre; ad. Du. or Flem. *spel*, play, booth, show.

**Crap** (1812), the gallows; the vb. with the sense 'to hang' is earlier (1781); ad. Du. *krap*, cramp, clamp, clasp; Bense suggests that the origin may be the Du. phrase *de krappe toedraaien*, to close the clasps (of a book), and so 'to close the book' (of life), but this seems far too refined an origin; the clasp intended was a neck-clasp. **Slang** (1812), a watch-chain, chain of any kind;

fetters, leg-irons; apparently ad. Du. *slang*, snake. **Prop** (1859, Dickens), in the thieves' slang sense of scarf-pin; ad. M.Du. *proppe*, prop, broach, skewer, plug.

## 1. 8.

Closely allied to the words of cant and slang are the terms of gaming and dicing, introduced mostly in the 16th century.

**Mumchance** (1528), a dicing game resembling hazard; (1550), to play mumchance, to preserve a dogged silence; (1555-75), a masquerade; ad. MLG. *mummenschanze*, *-kanze*, a certain game of dice, also a masked serenade (Du. *mommecanse*), from *mummen*, mum, and *schanz*, ad. F. *chance*. **Gleek** (1533), a game at cards played by three persons; ad. OF. *glic*, in 1464 written *ghelicque*, perhaps ad. M.Du. *ghelic* (Du. *gelijk*), like, the possession of three cards of one kind being one of the points of the game; but the word has not been found in Du. as the name of a game. **Foist** (1545), to palm a false die, so as to be able to introduce it when required; probably ad. dialectal Du. *vuisten*, to take in the hand, from *vuist*, fist; the Du. word now means to play at a game in which one player holds some coins in his hand and the others guess at their number. **Rifle** (1590), to play at dice, gamble, raffle; ad. Du. *rijfelen*, related to F. *rafler*, to raffle. The vbl. sb. is found somewhat earlier as in Du.; **Rifling** (1569), the action of raffling or dicing; compare Du. *rijfling*.

**Deuce**, colloquial or slang (1651), bad luck, plague, mischief; (1694), the personification of mischief, the devil; probably from LG., where it is used in phrases, *de duus*, *wat de duus*, corre-

sponding to the usual English phrases, 'the deuce!', 'what the deuce!'; the corresponding G. word is *daus*, probably the same word as *das daus*, the deuce at dice, and so the phrases would be the gambler's exclamation at bad luck. **Spill-house** (1778), a gaming-house; ad. Du. *speelhuis* or G. *spielhaus*.

## Chapter II

### Intercourse through War and Mercenary Service

#### 2. 1.2. 1.

MILITARY intercourse between English and Low Dutch people falls under three heads. (1) Low Dutch mercenaries served in England or in English armies, and this is especially common in the period between the Norman Conquest and the Hundred Years War. (2) English armies campaigned in the Low Countries, either against the natives or with the natives as their allies. (3) Englishmen served in the armies of the Low Dutch states as mercenaries, especially in the Elizabethan period when they helped the Dutch in their war of independence against Spain.

The army of William the Conqueror was not purely Norman, but included adventurers of many nationalities. Flemings were well represented, for William was married to Matilda of Flanders, and the Count of Flanders lent his son-in-law much assistance. The men of Flanders and Brabant had taken late to horsemanship, and the growth of an indigenous feudal cavalry did not supplant the foot-soldiers as in other lands. As early as 1100 we have record of Netherlandish infantry armed with the pike, which enjoyed a reputation far above that of foot levies of other countries. Oman assumes that the mailed, mercenary infantry armed with the pike, which the Conqueror employed at Hastings, were largely Flemish.

William granted lands to some of these Flemings, others he appointed to military posts. Gherbord became the first Earl of Chester; Gilbert of Ghent was one of the two commissioners at York when the city was taken by the Danes and English in 1069; Walcher of Lorraine, already Bishop of Durham, became Earl of Northumberland, and many of his retainers were Flemings; Dreux de Beveren, a captain of Flemish mercenaries, obtained the grant of Holderness in 1070.

The immigration of soldiers from abroad did not cease with the Conquest. The wars of the next hundred years were waged, to a considerable extent, with the help of Flemish mercenaries.

**2. 1.** Oman, 358, 366-8, 374-5, 397; Ram.F.E. II. 392; Ram.A.E. 35, 165, 177-81, 451, 456; Gr. 113-14, 130, 158-9; A.I. 21, 24-9; I.C. I. 186, 544-6, 646.

Among the mercenaries who shared the spoils of Fitzhamon's conquest of Glamorgan was one John the Fleming, while Henry I had mercenaries sent him by Robert of Flanders. It is not till the reign of Stephen, however, that we find them appearing in great force and forming a prominent element in the armies. Stephen, deserted by the greater part of his barons, supplied the place of the feudal levies by great bodies of Flemings and Brabanters under leaders such as William of Ypres and Alan of Dinan. His opponents followed the same policy. Many of these mercenaries were spread up and down the land as garrisons in the numerous castles which were springing up everywhere.

The first task of Henry II was to get rid of these mercenaries. The Flemings gave him little trouble; William of Ypres retired without a struggle, and most of his countrymen went with him. Some were allowed to settle in Pembrokeshire to strengthen the colony there, while Ralph de Diceto states that the Flemings were driven from the castle to the plough, from the camp to the workshop. But Henry, too, was a great employer of mercenaries; he used Flemings against the Welsh in 1165, and there were Brabanters in his force for the defence of Rouen in 1173. The value he placed upon them can be gauged from the terms of his Assize of Arms of 1181, which tries to assimilate the armament of wealthier men liable to service in the fyrd to that of the Brabanter pikemen. Henry usually kept his mercenaries for service in France. The only time that they appeared in force in England was during the feudal rebellion of 1173-4, and then they met a great body of Flemish routiers serving on the other side. Count Philip of Flanders had sent over a column of 400 picked men to Earl Bigod. They were unsuccessful in an attack on Dunwich, but captured Norwich, and at the end of the rebellion the Earl obtained permission to send off his auxiliaries in peace. The 3,000 Flemings who served with the Earl of Leicester were not so fortunate, for while marching from Suffolk to Leicester they were intercepted and beaten. They had roused the country-side by their ravages, and the peasantry gave them no quarter, so that only a few survived. One of their marching songs has come down to us:

Hop, hop, Willeken, hop!

England is mine and thine.

Succeeding kings continued to employ mercenaries. Richard I had the assistance of Flemings against France. John used them

against the barons; indeed, it is said in the *Scalacronica* that he brought in so many Flemings that the land had difficulty in feeding them. In fact, they served in all the troubles of the time; when William the Lion invaded England and took Appleby he had many with him, and there was a large contingent in the Scottish army at the Battle of the Standard. One of the conditions of Magna Charta was that John should dismiss all his mercenaries, but immediately afterwards he engaged a great body of Brabanters under Walter Buc, and of Flemings under Gerard de Sottingham and marched them through the midland counties, where they ate up the land. After the fall of Hubert de Burgh, Henry III again called in Flemish mercenaries, and they remained until Simon de Montfort managed to rid the country of them.

## **2. 2. 2. 2.**

A new phase in this military intercourse opens with the reign of Edward I. It is no longer so much a question of Low Dutch mercenaries in England as of English troops serving in Low Dutch territory. The Flemings' first experience of English soldiery was most unfortunate; when Edward I visited

Bruges in 1297 his men aroused such hostile feeling that they had to move on to Ghent, and there they got quite out of hand, looted freely, and in 1298 actually plundered Damme. They just escaped a general massacre, and in order to raise money to compensate these outrages Edward granted Flemish merchants permission to manufacture spurious coin for circulation in England.

In the troubles between Edward II and his Queen, Isabella raised mercenaries in the Low Countries, and William of Holland lent her a fleet of 140 herring-busses to transport them from Dordrecht to England. Their leader was John de Beaumont, who later brought over 500 men-at-arms to serve against Bruce; Froissart speaks of violent affrays between these men and the English archers.

The relations between England and the Low Countries were peculiarly close in the first period of the Hundred Years War, when for seven years there was constant bickering in Flanders between the English and French. The first clash came in 1337, when the English, under the Earl of Derby, forced their way ashore at Cadzand Haven, their archers completely beating the Flemish crossbowmen. Through the many alliances with Low

**2. 2.** Ram.D.C. 456-8; Ram.G.L. 200-6, 278; Oman, 582, 595-8, 622; Bense, A.D.R. 87, 90-2.

Country princes the English armies were swelled to enormous proportions. There were huge contingents of Flemish and Brabanter foot at the sieges of Cambrai and Tournay.

Even after the first period of the war military intercourse was frequent enough. When in 1348 the Count of Flanders invaded his own land with French help, his rebellious subjects were aided in their resistance by an English force. In 1359 Lancaster had many Low Country mercenaries in his army before St. Omer. Many of Edward III's well-known captains, who contracted with him to bring a free company into the field, were Low Dutch, e.g. Sir Walter Manny and Wolfhard of Ghisteltes. The Black Prince used them too; companies under Daniel Pasele and Denis of Morbeke fought at Poitiers.

In 1382 there was proclaimed in England an infamous crusade against Flanders, just because the Flemings held allegiance to a Clementine Count. It was headed by Bishop Despenser of Norwich. Every servant and apprentice who could give his master the slip took the Cross, for free passage was provided for every one. Ultimately the French came to the aid of the Count and the English were beaten out of Flanders. In 1390 the Earl of Derby made a famous crusading expedition to the Baltic to assist the Teutonic Knights against the heathen Letts. He landed at Danzig with 50 lances and 60 archers, and was present at the storming of Vilna.

There was a strong English contingent of many knights and squires and over 200 archers under the Lords Cornwall and Colville in the expedition which the Count of Ostrevant, son of the Duke of Holland, made against the Frisians.

Very few Low Country mercenaries were hired for the Wars of the Roses. Lambert Simnel had 2,000 'Almaines' under Martin Swart, and there were a few with Perkin Warbeck. On the other hand, English contingents took part in several Low Country wars. The Duke of Gloucester sent 1,000 men to help his wife, Jacqueline of Holland, against the Duke of Burgundy. Sir John Paston tells us that there were 3,000 English present at the siege of Neuss by Charles the Bold. Henry VIII sent 1,500 archers to help Margaret of Savoy, the Regent of Flanders, against the Duke of Guelders.

## **2. 3.2. 3.**

The period of closest military intercourse was the reigns

**2. 3.** Blok, III. 128, 207-14, 223-5, 248, 252, 277, 374; IV. 46, 57, 173; Ch. Eliz. II. 28.

of Elizabeth and James I, when England was the ally of the Netherlands in their struggle for independence against Spain. Throughout this time English contingents were serving in the



Netherlands, as troops supplied by Elizabeth, as mercenaries in the employ of the States, and as volunteers serving for religion or glory.

Elizabeth was cold or vacillating in her support of the Dutch. However, in 1578 she so far answered the appeals of the States as to send them, after long delays, 4,000 Scottish troops. Sir Peter Norris became Field-Marshal of the States in 1580, defeated the army of Don John near Ghent, and surprised Malines. When his army, English included, mutinied, the trouble was quelled by the aid of Sir Francis Vere.

After the fall of Antwerp in 1585 the States begged for further help. Elizabeth was slow to respond, but the City of London and private people fitted out contingents, and these went to Holland and Zeeland under Norris. Later in the year Elizabeth sent aid under the hard terms of the pledge of Flushing, Rammekens, and Briel. Leicester was appointed Governor, and English troops under Thomas Cecil and Philip Sidney garrisoned Flushing and Briel. Leicester went over with 8,000 men and the flower of England's nobility. He was not reinforced from England owing to the overhanging threat of the Armada, but he succeeded in taking Doesburg, and laid siege to Zutphen, where Sir Philip Sidney was killed. When Leicester returned to England, Norris took over the command of the English troops. Men of the lower classes were now regularly pressed and drafted for service in the Low Countries. In 1600, when a number of tried troops were recalled and sent to Ireland, the numbers were made good by pressing in London and Essex, and in the two years following large drafts of pressed men were raised by London and other towns.

Maurice of Nassau had a remarkable military genius, and the recognition of this made his camp a military school whither the young English nobles came to learn to be professional soldiers. The wonderful army he got together consisted of rough elements, often the very sweepings of society, English, French, Walloon, German, and Dutch. In 1599, in face of Mendoza's threat to Holland, troops were levied in Scotland.

In 1616 the three garrison towns held in pledge by the English were redeemed by the States, and their garrisons passed over

into the Dutch service. For Prince Frederick Henry's operations in 1629 against the Spaniards new English and Scottish battalions were recruited. James I was at first favourable to Spain, and it was not till 1624 that he was persuaded to break with her. English mercenaries and gentlemen, however, continued to serve the Dutch: thus Wriothesley and Southampton died at Rosendaal while in charge of English troops. James at last sent 600 men. In 1632 the Earl of Oxford was killed before Maastricht. In 1642, while preparations were on foot for the Civil War in England, some of the English and Scottish officers who were serving under Goring in the Low Countries were recalled. Great discontent was now being felt in Holland at the great number of mercenary troops kept by Frederick Henry, and so universal was the wish for economy that in 1650 he sacrificed the foreign troops so dear to him. Thirty-two English and three Scottish companies, with twelve companies of cavalry, were designated for discharge.

In 1657 a detachment of 6,000 Ironsides joined the French in an attack on Flanders. The English took part in the storming of Mardyke and the Battle of the Dunes. The Flemish town of Dunkirk remained in English hands until Charles II sold it.

## **2. 4.2. 4.**

After the breaking of the alliance with France, Charles II and William of Orange came to an agreement by which England was now on the side of the Dutch. The Earl of Ossory went to Holland in 1678 to take command of English troops. Charles had now six English and Scottish regiments in the service of the United Provinces, and these occupied Ostend and Bruges. These six regiments were sent by William to help in the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion; they encamped on Blackheath, but as their services were not required they were sent back to Holland. They returned to England with William on his accession, and he was also accompanied by some of his best Dutch troops and by regiments which Bentinck had hired from some of the princes of

north Germany. Some of these foreign troops were used in the campaign in Ireland, under the Dutchman Ginkell and the Huguenot exile Schomberg.

After William's accession, the English and Dutch were closely united against the French, and English troops were at once sent

**2. 4.** Blok, iv. 438, 465, 481-3; v. 5, 158; Gr. 633, 663-5, 684-5, 693-4, 702.

to join his armies in the Netherlands. In 1692 William himself crossed over with a large body of English. The Peace of Ryswick in 1697 put an end to operations on the Continent.

There is no doubt that, in the meantime, William employed Dutch troops in England for garrison purposes; Zuylestein's regiment was retained in the north of England, and was at Durham in 1691. In 1698, however, William was forced by Parliament to send his Dutch troops out of the country; his partiality for the Dutch had made him very unpopular, and matters came to a head when he preferred his young favourite the Earl of Albemarle to be first Commander of the Guards over the Duke of Ormonde's head.

For ten years after William's death, English and Dutch soldiers fought together in Flanders in the War of the Spanish Succession. Marlborough was appointed leader of the united armies of England and the States. Since the end of the 16th century, the Scottish brigade had been in the Dutch service, and had been recruited mainly in Scotland and commanded by Scottish officers. In her great need for men for the war in America, England in 1775 requested the republic to lend this brigade, but the request was refused.

## **2. 5.**

A large number of terms for arms and armour was borrowed. The single term of defensive armour which appears in ME. is **Splint** (13 . ., *Coer de L.*, 1374), a plate of overlapping metal of which certain portions of medieval armour were sometimes composed; (c. 1325), a long strip or splint of wood; ad. M.Du. *splinte* (Du. *splint*) or MLG. *splinte*, *splente* (LG. *splinte*, *splente*, or *splint*, also borrowed into Da., Sw., and Norw. as *splint*), a metal plate or pin.

This is perhaps the best place to insert the single term of jousting or the tournament. **Reyne** (c. 1440), plur., the lists; perhaps ad. M.Du. *reen*, *reyn*, shooting-range.

The following are the names of striking weapons. **Hanger** (1481-90), a kind of short sword, originally hung from the belt; O.E.D. says that it is apparently the same word as *hanger* from *hang*, vb., though possibly not of English origin, and compares e.mod.Du. *hangher*, 'stootdeghe', rapier. **Slaughmess** (a. 1548, once), a large knife used as a weapon, a dagger; ad. older Flem. *sclachmes*, from *slach* (*slag*), blow, stroke, and *mes*, knife. A similar formation is **Slaughsword** (a. 1548), a large two-handed sword; ad. older Flem. *sclachsweerd* (Du. *slagzwaard*) or G.

*schlachtschwert*. **Sable** (1617), sabre; probably ad. Du. or e.mod.G. *sabel*, (later G. *säbel*); *sabre* is the unexplained French alteration of *sabel*.

There is one term for a part of the crossbow, which may have been introduced by the Brabanter mercenary crossbowmen, though it does not appear until the end of the 15th century and is then found in the *Nav. Acc. Hen. VII*. **Gaffle** (1497), a steel lever for bending the crossbow; probably ad. Du. *gaffel*, fork; in Du. the word also has the sense of a rest for a musket.

Terms for hand fire-arms are: **Hackbush**, **Hagbush** (1484), an early form of fire-arm; from M.Flem. *haec*-, *haegbusse*, *hakebus*, but perhaps immediately from the rare OF. forms borrowed from Flem., *haquebusche* (1475) and *harquebusche* (1478); the corresponding MLG. forms are *hake*-, *hakebusse*, from *haken*, *hake*, hook, and *bühse*, *busse*, *bus*, gun, fire-arm, literally hook-gun, so called from the hook, originally attached to a point of support. The derivatives, **Hack**-, **Hagbushier**, **Hagbusser** (1524), are by the addition of the suffixes *-ier* or *-er*. Variants are

**Hackbut, Hagbut** (1541-2), an early kind of portable fire-arm; ad. 15th-and 16th-century F. *haquebut*, -*bute*, ad. M.Du. *hakebus* or MLG. *hakebusse*; later in the 16th century this F. form passed, under the influence of It. *archibuso*, through the intermediate *harquebute*, to *harquebuse*, *arquebuse*. The derivatives, **Hackbutter, Hagbutter** (1544-8), are by the addition of the suffix -*er*. **Hackbuteer, -ier** (c. 1610) are ad. 16th-century F. *hacquebutier*. **Hake** (1548), a short fire-arm used in the 16th century; apparently an abbreviation of *haquebut*, *hagbut*, originally in *half-hake* or *demi-hake*, i.e. half-hackbut, applied to a fire-arm of shorter length than the hackbut; it would appear that for this the simple *hake*, *haque* was soon substituted. **Half-hake** (1538) and **Demi-hake** (1541) are earlier.

**Bus** (1549), *harquebus*; ad. e.mod.Du. *bus*, gun, in Kilian *busse*. Another form is **Bowse** (1556), ad. Du. *buis* (M.Du. *busse*, LG. *büsse*). **Blunderbuss** (1654), a short gun with a large bore, is the Du. *donderbus*, with the same meaning, but perverted in form after *blunder*, perhaps with some allusion to its blind or random firing; it may be a playful perversion of the Du. word; compare *blunderhead*, an alteration of the earlier *dunderhead*, a blundering, muddleheaded fellow. There are two terms for the fire apparatus by means of

which the old firelocks were discharged. **Lunt** (1550, from Sc.), a slow-match, also a torch; ad. Du. *lont*, a match. **Linstock** (1575), a staff about 3 feet long, having a pointed foot to stick in the ground or deck, and a forked head to hold the lighted match; in the 16th century *lint*-, *linestocke*, ad. (with assimilation to *lint* and *line*), Du. *lontstok*, from *lont*, match, and *stok*, stick.

There are two names for cannon. **Slang** (1521), a species of cannon, a serpentine or culverin; ad. M.Du. or MLG. *slange* (Du. *slang*, G. *schlange*), serpent, cannon. **Cartow** (1650), a kind of cannon, also called a quarter cannon, which threw a ball of a quarter of a hundredweight; apparently ad. 16th-century Flem. *kartouwe* (G. *cartaun*, It. *courtaun*), a quarter cannon, carthoun, 25-pounder, as compared with the largest siege-gun, a 100-pounder.

Some names for soldiers' accoutrements and equipment were borrowed. **Brabantic** (1591), a garment worn by soldiers in the 16th century; probably from the name *Brabant*; Bense points out that the Sp. *brabante*, a sort of linen, has the same origin. **Knapsack** (1603), a bag or case of stout canvas or leather, worn by soldiers strapped to the back; ad. LG. *knapsack* (Du. *knapzak*, G. *knappsack*), first recorded in the 16th century; the first element is generally taken to be LG. and

Du. *knappen*, *knap*, vb. 'to bite', G. *knapp*, eating food. **Snapsack** (1633), a knapsack; common from about 1650 to 1700; ad. LG. *snappsack*, from *snappen*, snap. **Holster** (1663), a leather case for a pistol; it is possibly from Du. *holster* in the same sense, although the Du. word is not recorded until 1678, that is, later than the English word; OE. had *heolster*, hiding-place, concealment, and there are corresponding forms in Scand., Icel. *hulstr*, case, sheath, Sw. *hölster*, Da. *hylster*, sheath, holster.

**Fanikin** (1539) occurs once only as the name of a small flag or banner; ad. M.Du. *vaneken* (Flem. *vaenken*, in Kilian), diminutive of *vane*, now *vaan*, flag, compare Eng. *fane*.

There are a few terms connected with the drums of the troops. **Drumslade, Dromslade** (1527), a drum, or some form of drum; (1527), a drummer; apparently a corruption of Du. or LG.

*trommelslag* (G. *trommelschlag*), drum-beat, though it is not apparent how this name of the action became applied to the instrument. **Drumslager** (1586), a drummer; apparently like the above a corruption of Du. *trommelslager*, or perhaps ad. G. *drummeschläger*, an earlier variant of *trommelschläger*. **Snare**

(1688), in the sense of one of the strings of gut or rawhide which are stretched across the lower head of a side-drum; it is probably from one of the Low Dutch forms, Du. *snaar*, M.Du. *snare*, *snaer*, LG. *snare*, *snar*, MLG. *snare*, *snar*, string.

## 2. 6.

One term of siege appears from the ME. period. **Slap** (1375, from Sc.), a breach, opening, or gap in a wall; ad. M.Du. or MLG. *slop* (Du. and LG. *slop*, LG. *slup*), opening, gap, narrow passage; the change of *o* to *a* before *p* is normal in Sc., cf. *drap* for *drop*.

Most of the terms of fortification, however, appear in the 16th and 17th centuries. The Low Country wars of that period were often little more than the assault of strong places, and the science of fortification and siege was much cultivated and highly developed. English soldiers serving in the Low Countries must of necessity have become acquainted with these (technical) terms.

**Blockhouse** (1512), according to O.E.D. the sense was not originally a house composed of blocks of wood, but one which obstructs or blocks a passage; the Eng. word appears earlier than either the Du. or Flem. *blockhuys*, *blockhuus* (1599 in Kilian) or G. *blockhaus* (1557), yet it is probably of Du. or G. origin; the M.Du. *blockhuus* is thought to have passed into LG. and thence into HG.; Sewel renders Du. *blockhuys* by 'blockhouse, sconce, wooden fort'.

**Wagonborough** (1548), a defensive enclosure or barricade, formed of baggage-wagons placed close together; ad. Du. or G. *wagenburg*. **Sconce** (1571), a small fort or earthwork, a protective screen or shelter; ad. Du. *schans*, with assimilation of form to the Eng. nouns, meaning lantern and head respectively; in the 16th century it had in Du. the senses brushwood, bundles of sticks, screen of brushwood for soldiers, earthworks made with gabions. Of later borrowing is the compound **Lopesconce** (1624), an entrenchment; ad. Du. *lopeschans*, from *loopen*, to run, and *schans*. **Slot** (1578), a castle; ad. Du. or LG. *slot*, castle. **Bint, Binte** (1629), O.E.D. says that the meaning and derivation of this word are doubtful, but compares Du. *bindte*, joint, cross-beam; Bense has thrown light on this word, referring it to a passage quoted in *Ndl. Wdb.*, relating to a siege, in which *bint* means a kind of sheltering roof made of sandbags; the passages quoted by O.E.D. refer to the building of a

sconce, and *bint* is undoubtedly the Du. *bint*, M.Du. *bint*, *bindt*, a bundle.

**Graff** (1637), a trench serving as a fortification, a dry or wet ditch, a foss or moat, rarely, a canal (in Holland); probably ad. Du. *graf*. **Graft** (1641), a ditch, moat, also (in Holland) a street on either side of a canal; ad. Du. *graft* (M.Du. and Du. *gracht*, from *graven*, to dig). **Slaught-boom** (1637), a beam used as a barrier; ad. Du. or LG. *slagboom* (which also gave Da. and Sw. *slagbom*), from *slagen*, to strike, and *boom*, tree, beam. **Stacket** (1637, from Sc.), a palisade; ad. Du. *staket*, of F. origin. **Skite gate** (1677), an opening or loophole in a wall for a cannon or other piece of artillery; ad. Du. *schietgat*, from *schieten*, to shoot, and *gat*, hole. **Berm** (1729), a narrow space or ledge; esp. in fortifications, a space of ground, from 3 to 8 feet wide, sometimes left between the ditch and the base of the parapet; according to O.E.D. ad. F. *berme*, ad. Du. or G. *berme*; the M.Du. forms were *barm*, *baerm*, *barem*, Du. *berm* and *barm*, but *berm* and *berme* are very common in Flanders, so there is no reason why not directly from Dutch.

## 2. 7.

A single term of the practice of warfare appears in the ME. period. **Reise** (c. 1386, Chaucer), to go on a military expedition, to make inroads, to travel; ad. M.Du., MLG., or MHG. *reisen*, *reysen*, in the same sense. The sb. is later: **Reise** (1390, in the non-Eng. context of *E. Derby's Exped.*, c. 1440), ad. M.Du., MLG., or MHG. *reise*, a military expedition, raid, also in OF. from Germanic as *reise*.

In the modern period appear the following terms of general military operations. **Waylay** (1513), to lie in wait for, with evil or hostile intent, to seize or attack on the way; from *way*, sb., and *lay*, vb., but after MLG., M.Du., *wegelâgen*, from *wegelage*, besetting of ways. **Forlorn hope** (1579), in early use, a picked body of men detached to the front to begin the attack; (1539), the men composing such a body, hence reckless bravoos; ad. Du. *verloren hoop* (in Kilian, 1598), literally, lost troop. **Onslaught** (1625), onset, attack, esp. a vigorous or destructive one; the word appears

first early in the 17th century, when it also has the forms *anslaight*, *anslacht*, and is termed by Phillips 'Dutch'; the nearest Du. word *aanslag*, striking at, attempt, does not yield quite the requisite form, while the ME. words *slaht*, *slaught*, *sleight*, *slaughter* appear to have become obsolete about 1400; it probably represents the Du. *aanslag* or G.

*anschlag*, modified after Eng. words of action such as *draught*. **Scamper** (1687), to run away, decamp, bolt; very common in this sense from 1687 to 1700; at first probably military slang, from obs. Du. *schampen*, which Hexham (1660) glosses 'to escape or flie, to be gone', and which is OF. *escamper*, to decamp.

There are a few specific terms for the conduct of a siege. **Leaguer** (1577), a military camp, esp. one engaged on a siege; (1598), a siege; ad. Du. *leger*, camp. **Leaguerer** (1635) was the term applied to a (Dutch) trooper; this gives us an indication of the principal occupation of a trooper in the Low Country wars. The vb. **Beleaguer** (1589), to besiege; ad. Du. *belegeren*; the first instance of the word, in Nashe, is in a transferred sense, so the word was borrowed probably some time before 1589. **Outlope** (1603), a run-out, sally, excursion; apparently ad. Du. *uitloop* (in Kilian *uutloop*), a run-out, excursion. **Slight** (1640-4), in the sense, to level with the ground, to raze a fortification; ad. Du. *slechten*, LG. *slichten* or G. *schlichten*, to level.

It is perhaps best to include words dealing with plunder and plundering among the terms of the operations of war; at any rate that side of warfare was more developed and legitimate in the periods under question than it is with the armies of to-day. **Booty** (1474), plunder; it is hard to say whether directly from MLG. *bute*, *buite*, where it was already used in the required sense (e.mod.Du. *buyt*, *buët*), or indirectly through the F. *butin*; *butin* from F. is used side by side with *boty*, *booty*, during the 16th century, but on the whole the contact between the two forms appears to be slight; Caxton used both forms before any one else, in his *Chesse*, a translation from the French, but this does not signify much, as Caxton was bilingual, English and Flemish. **Boot**, sb. (1593), booty; O.E.D. says that it is apparently an application of *boot*, 'good, advantage, profit, use', influenced by the already existing *booty*. It was especially used in the phrase, 'to make boot', and Du. had the identical phrase, *buit maken*, and, as Bense suggests, this was perhaps the origin of the English phrase, which was later confused with the phrase, 'to make boot of', 'to make profit of, gain by'. The vb. was much earlier (1494), and was used in the sense to share as booty; it was probably directly ad. MLG. *buten* or M.Du. *buten*, *buyten*, in the same sense. **Boot-hale** (1598), to plunder; probably formed from the Du. comb. *buithaler*. **Booting** (1600-51), booty, plunder; the taking

of booty, plundering; from *boot* and *-ing*, though some of its examples are undoubtedly a confusion of the F. *butin* with the Eng. vbl. sb.

**Plunder** (1632), to rob of goods or valuables; ad. G. *plündern*, LG. *plünder(e)n*, or early Du. and Du. *plunderen* (in Kilian *plondern*), to pillage, sack, from obs. Du. *plunder*, *plonder*, household stuff; O.E.D. states that this word was borrowed at the time of the Thirty Years War, and became familiar in our Civil Wars through Rupert's men. **Branskate** (1721), to put (a place) to ransom, or subject to a payment in order to avoid pillage or destruction; ad. Du. *brandschatten* (G. *brandschatzen*), from *brand*, burning, and *schat*, treasure, originally tribute.

## 2. 8.

A number of words were borrowed dealing with supply and the military department of the train. In ME. appears **Provand** (c. 1341), food, provisions, esp. for an army; probably from Low Dutch, MLG., and e.mod.Du. *provande* (Kilian, Plantin), apparently ad. F. *provende*; in Caxton (1481), the word is immediately from Flem., but some of the earlier examples may be directly from French:

**Provant** (c. 1450), of the same meaning, is apparently ad. MLG. *provant*, the later form of *provande*. The comb. **Provant-master** (1607) does not appear until the 17th century; it is from *provant* and *master*, probably after the e.mod.Du. *provandmeester* or the G. *proviantmeister*, the officer in charge of the commissariat.

**Wagon, Waggon** (1523, Berners's *Froissart*), ad. Du. *wagen*, e.mod.Du. *waghen*, in Du. always the most general term for a wheeled vehicle; it was adopted into Eng. in this wide sense (1542), but appears to have come in first in the specific military application, learnt in the continental wars, for the heavy vehicles of the train; the word has an earlier appearance in Eng., in the *First Eng. Bk. Amer.* (c. 1511), in the transferred sense of the constellation, Charles's Wain, but this work was translated into Eng. by a Fleming and contains many Flemish words, so the quotation does not prove the existence of the word in Eng. at the date of the book. A little later is **Wagoner, Waggoner** (1544), the driver of a wagon; ad. Du. *wagenaar*, *waghenaar*, as the early Eng. spelling *wagenaar* proves.

The activities of the camp-follower are responsible for the group: **Sutler** (1590), one who follows an army or lives in a garrison town and sells provisions to the soldiers; ad. e.mod.Du. *soeteler* (Du. *zoetelaar*), a small vendor, petty tradesman, victual-

ler, soldier's servant, drudge, from *soetelen*, to befoul, perform mean duties, follow a mean trade. **Sutlery** (1606), from *sutler* and *-y*; compare e.mod.Du. *soetelerije*, 'vile opus, sordidum artificium' (Kilian). **Suttle** (1648, Hexham), to carry on the business of a sutler; ad. e.mod.Du. *soetelen*, or a back formation from *sutler*.

## 2. 9.

There is a group of names for the cavalry soldier. **Rutter** (1506), a cavalry soldier, esp. a German one, of the kind employed in the wars of the 16th and 17th centuries; ad. M.Du. *rutter*, variant of *ruter*, *ruyter* (Du. *ruiter*), ad. OF. *routier*, *routeur*. The diminutive, **Rutterkin** (1526), has the sense a swaggering gallant or bully; from *rutter* and *-kin*. **Swartrutter** (1557), one of the class of irregular troopers, with black dress and armour and blackened faces, who infested the Netherlands in the 16th and 17th centuries; ad. e.mod.Du. *swartrutter* (in Kilian *swerte ruyters*, plur.), from *swart*, black, and *rutter*. Variants of *rutter* are **Ruiter** (1579) and **Roiter** (1583), both ad. Du. *ruiter*, *ruyter*. **Ridder** (1694), rider; ad. obs. F. *ridde*, *riddre*, rider, ad. Flem. *rijder*, *ridder*, knight.

The next two words represent the extremes in the scale of soldiery. **Snaphaunce, Snaphance** (1538), an armed marauder or robber; also (1588) an early form of flintlock used in muskets and pistols; of Low Dutch origin, representing Du. and Flem. *snaphaan* (in Kilian *snaphaen*, MLG. *snaphân*, LG. *snapphân*, G. *schnapphahn*), from *snappen*, to snap, and *haan*, cock; the sense is probably 'one who snaps the cock of his flintlock at you'; the final -s sound of the Eng. word may be due to confusion with the personal name *Hans*. **Life-guard** (1648), a bodyguard of soldiers, now plur.; from *life* and *guard*, but probably suggested by Du. *lijfgarde*, in which, however, the first element has the sense 'body'.

The following are the names of officers and petty officers of military ranks. With one exception they are compounds, having as their second element *master*. **Rote-master** (1523), one in command of a company of gunners; ad. Du. *rotmeester* (G. *rottmeister*), from *rot*, a file of soldiers, and *meester*. **Gill-master** (1598, Barret, *Theor. Warres*), the title of a military officer; perhaps ad. Du. *gildemeester*, guildmaster, i.e. head of one of the 'guilds' or companies of bowmen, gunners, &c. **Quartermaster** (1600), an officer, ranking as lieutenant, who provides quarters for the soldiers; this military sense of 'quartermaster' is apparently

the original meaning of F. *quartier-maître*, Du. *kwartiermeester*, G. *quartiermeister*, and may have been adopted from any one of those languages. **Matross** (1639), a soldier next below the rank of



gunner in a train of artillery, who acted as a kind of assistant or mate; ad. Du. *matroos*, sailor (whence G. *matrose*, Da., Sw. *matros*), apparently a corruption of F. *matelot*, sailor; in the U.S. the term was synonymous with a private of artillery. **Rittmaster** (1648), the captain of a troop of horse; ad. G. *rittmeister* or Du. *ritmeester*, from *ritt*, riding, and *meister*.

## 2. 10.

Terms dealing with such matters as pay, leave, and guard duties are not numerous enough to admit of separate classification, and are included here in a section on miscellaneous terms of military life.

**Gelt** (a. 1529), money, often, in early use, with reference to the pay of a (German) army; now only dialectal (Whitby, Mid-Yks.); in the phrase 'Bare gelt', ready money, there is translation of the Du. *baar geld*, or the G. *bares geld*, and in 'Passage gelt' of the G. *fahrgeld*.

**Cashier** (1580), in the obsolete military sense, to disband troops; (1599), to dismiss from a position of command; ad. Flem. or Du. *casseren*, in the same sense; Kilian has *kasseren de kriegslieden*, 'exauctorare milites', to disband troops, and *kasseren een testament*, 'rescindere testamentum', to rescind a will; French verbs adopted in Du. and G. frequently retain the infinitive endings *-er* and *-ir* as part of the stem, and when adopted from Du. into Eng. this takes the form of *-ier*, *-eer*; *cashier* probably dates to the campaign in the Netherlands in 1578-80.

**Furlough** (1625), leave of absence, esp. for a soldier; in the 17th century also *vorloffe*, *fore loofe*, ad. Du. *verlof*, apparently formed in imitation of G. *verlaub*, from *ver-*, *for-*, and root *laub-*; the Eng. word having from the beginning been stressed on the first syllable seems to show the influence of the synonymous Du. *oorlof*.

**Rot** (1635, Barrieffe, *Mil. Discipl.*), a file of soldiers; ad. Du. *rot* or G. *rotte*, ad. OF. *rotte*, *route*, rout. The Sc. substitution of *a* for *o* is found in **Rat** (1646).

**Tattoo** (1644), a signal made by drum or bugle in the evening for soldiers to repair to quarters; a military entertainment; in the 17th century, *tap-too*, ad. Du. *tap-toe*, in the same sense, from *tap*, the tap (of a cask), and *toe*, for *doe toe*, 'shut'. The

tattoo was thus the signal for closing the taps of the public-houses. Sw. *tapto* and Sp. *tatu* are apparently also from Du.; compare G. *zapfenstreich*, LG. *tappenslag*, Da. *tappenstreg*, with the first element the same, and the second element meaning stroke, blow, beat; although Du. *taptoe* was in military use in our sense in the 17th century, this was probably not its original use, as *tap toe*, for *doe den tap toe*, 'turn off the tap', was apparently in colloquial use for 'shut up', cease.

**Roster** (1727, H. Bland, *Mil. Discipl.*) in the military sense of a list or plan exhibiting the order of rotation of turns of duty of officers, men, or bodies of troops; ad. Du. *rooster*, table, list, a transferred sense of *rooster*, gridiron, from *roosten*, to roast, in allusion to the parallel lines drawn on the paper.

**Overslaugh** (1768, Simes, *Mil. Dict.*), to pass over, omit, skip; in military use, to pass over an ordinary turn of duty for a duty that takes precedence; ad. Du. *overslaan*, to pass over, omit, from *over*, and *slaan*, to strike. The sb. **Overslaugh** (1772) is later; ad. Du. *overslag*, from *overslaan*, or from the Eng. vb.

## Chapter III

### Intercourse through Trade between Britain and the Low Dutch Countries

#### 3. 1. **3. 1.**

FROM very early times there has been trade between England and the Low Dutch lands directly opposite the greatest ports on the east coast. The Low Dutch merchants, who were trading to England in the 11th and 12th centuries, came only from Liège, Westphalia, and the districts of the Lower Rhine. Liège assembled goods from the centre of Germany and brought them to England. The emporia of Utrecht and Keulen assembled goods from the Lower Rhine and the hinterland of Westphalia.

Owing to the rivalry of the merchant guilds the position of foreigners trading here was much restricted; yet one of these restrictions at least brought them into closer relationship with the natives. It was true that they could only stay in the country for thirty days, but they must stay with burghers. A statute of Edward I imposed that none but citizens were to have hostelryes for the reception of foreigners, and this condition was strictly enforced for London, while we hear of hostlers and hostmen at Yarmouth and Newcastle. Again in 1439 it was decreed that all merchants should be under the surveillance of hosts assigned to them by mayors of the towns they visited, and these hosts were to be Englishmen born. This ensured that until the formation of the foreign trading Hanses every foreign merchant was brought into close contact with Englishmen. By the Carta Mercatoria (1303) foreigners gained the right to stay anywhere and for an unspecified time, on condition that they paid the extraordinary tolls; they were now admitted into the retail trade in spices and mercery. There were bad times for them under Edward II, when for eleven years the Carta was not in operation, and also during the weak minority of Edward III; but when Edward's rule became stronger, they regained and kept these extensive privileges.

**3. 1.**M. 2; R. 11; A.I. 92-4.

### **3. 2.3. 2.**

In the 13th century England still had no mercantile class. English traders lacked capital and organization to compete with Flemish, Brabanter, French, and Italian traders. In the course of the 14th century a class of English traders did develop, despite constant interference from their rulers, who

**3. 2.**R. 70-84; A.I. 87.

tried to turn exports into specified paths, under considerations of politics and revenue.

Already under Henry III there was a staple for wool in the Netherlands, but compulsion to use it failed. Edward I compelled export from certain ports only, and out of these the organization of the staple grew; there is some probability that he recognized certain ports in Flanders, Holland, and Zeeland as 'foreign staples', but again there is no satisfactory evidence of their compulsory use.

There was indeed a company of merchants under a mayor at Antwerp, but the name *staple* does not occur so early. The enforced staple was introduced by Edward II in 1313; English and foreign merchants must now ship staple goods to trade places abroad recognized by the organization of the staple merchants controlled by its mayor. This arrangement did not prove satisfactory, for it was too easily evaded. In the last years of Edward II the staple was brought home, and a number of places in England, Wales, and Ireland became staple ports for wool. Before 1340 the staple was again in the Netherlands, but in 1353 it returned to England. There grew up now an organization of non-staple merchants in the Netherlands, holding privileges from the Flemish Count, and also governed by a self-chosen mayor, beside the organization of the staple merchants in England.

Special privileges for purchasing wool were accorded to the Flemish towns by Edward III; the staple was held at Bruges, to the advantage of that town, but to the inconvenience of the country purchasers and of Italian merchants, and therefore to the loss of the English grower. This was not a lasting evil. The organization of the staple at Calais and the development of the English cloth manufacture changed the conditions of trade, and the special privileges of the Flemings were discontinued. In 1363 Calais was the only staple, but only temporarily, for the staple was taken



outside English territory to Middelburg. In 1388 it was removed back to Calais, and but for a short interruption in 1390, this town remained the recognized staple for English export.

The staple never remained long in Dordrecht or Middelburg. Though Holland did use some of the wool, yet by far the greater users were Flanders and Brabant, and so the staple was more naturally placed at Bruges or Antwerp. In 1348 and 1349, when the English merchants were in trouble in Flanders,

probably owing to the exclusion of Flemish merchants from the trade, the staple was shifted to Middelburg, but this again was only a temporary arrangement through force of circumstances. In 1350 it was again in Bruges. There were further attempts in the last quarter of the 14th century to bring the staple to Zeeland, and with some success, for in 1383 Duke Albrecht granted a charter and great privileges of trade and protection to English merchants. The cause was the risings of the Flemings against their Count, and with the cessation of the troubles the staple was removed in 1388 from Middelburg to Calais.

The privileges which English merchants sought and obtained in Zeeland in 1389 and 1392 seem to be staple privileges, but refer probably to cloth and not to wool. The banding of this body of merchants is the first sign of the split which separated the Merchant Adventurers, dealing in other commodities, from the Merchants of the Staple, dealing in wool. In 1407 this new body obtained the right to organize themselves, and in 1408 and 1413 more privileges from Willem VI. It is known that the foundations of the trade of the Merchant Adventurers was cloth, so they were not welcome in Flanders, itself a cloth-exporting country. These merchants in Zeeland were Londoners, and we know that the Merchant Adventurers had their origin in London.

### **3. 3.3. 3.**

A large share of English trade was in the hands of Flemish merchants. The trade of the Flemish cities was more closely connected with the English wool production than was that of any other country. Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Courtrai, Arras, and a number of other cities in Flanders and the adjacent provinces of the Netherlands and France had become populous and rich, principally from their weaving industry. For the manufacture of fine fabrics they needed the English wool, and in turn their fine woven goods were in constant demand for the use of the wealthier classes in England. The fine cloths, linens, cambrics, cloth of gold and silver, tapestries, and hangings were the product of the looms of the Flemish cities. Other fine manufactured goods, such as armour and weapons, glass and furniture, and articles which had been brought in the way of trade to the Netherlands were all exported thence and sold in England.

The Flemish merchants who habitually engaged in the English trade were organized amongst themselves in a company

**3. 3.**Ch. 87; A.I. 77, 80, 87, 129.

known as the 'Flemish Hanse of London'. A considerable number of towns held such membership in the organization that the citizens could take part in the trade and share the benefits and privileges of the society, and no citizen of these towns could trade in England without paying the dues and submitting himself to the rules of the Hanse.

Henry III and Edward I had given special protection to Flemings who visited England to buy wool. Flemish merchants seem to have visited Scotland for the same purpose, for we find Edward II attempting to stop the traffic. In 1347 a staple was established at Middelburg, of which Scotsmen appointed the mayor, and after this date the trade was probably chiefly in the hands of Scotsmen, and Scottish wool passed either to Middelburg or to the neighbouring port of Vere. Edward III, in his anxiety to conciliate his Flemish allies, gave them special permission in 1337 to visit England and purchase the wool which was necessary for the manufactures in each town and district. When

the staple for wool was held in England, the actual export trade would be generally in the hands of alien merchants.

### **3. 4.3. 4.**

The great trade in wool with Flanders was carefully organized and its importance is obvious; the trade with Holland and Zeeland, not so great and hardly organized at all, tends to have its importance ignored. The intercourse must have been considerable. Ruinen has compiled statistics for part of the 14th century and shows that about 1319 no less than 162 ships from Holland and Zeeland came to Yarmouth, Lynn, Boston, and other ports in Norfolk and Suffolk. Between 1310 and 1370 he has details of the visit of another 144 ships, all except four to east coast ports. There is much less evidence for the presence of English traders in Holland and Zeeland during the same period.

The actual trade with the two Dutch counties was small. The great English export commodity was wool and very little of this was taken by Holland and Zeeland for their own use, even though they had a very flourishing weaving industry. In the 14th century the export of cloth begins to assume important proportions; in some years England had a surplus of wheat for export, and other articles mentioned are ale, beans, mustard, woad, tin, and lead. There is a certain amount of re-export  
**3. 4.R.** 2-9, 52, 59-68, 88-97, 102 ff.

trade, especially in wine from the south of France and Spain and in honey. Holland and Zeeland had few goods to send to England. In some years there was butter and cheese, in others a little oats; but the main trade was in herrings, red herrings, eels, salt fish, and salt. There was a transit trade in Rhenish wine from Dordrecht, but the German Hanse was an early competitor in this.

All the evidence points to the greater importance of Holland and Zeeland in freighting than in actual trade. As early as the 13th century the Zeelanders were freighting wool between England and Flanders, and in the next century much of the carrying trade of the northern seas is in their hands. They carry wool and corn from England to Flanders, wool to St. Omer, grain and malt to Calais for the English king and wool for merchants, wool to Brabant, fish from Schonen and Copenhagen to England, various wares from Prussia. There are examples of chartering from Aquitaine to Hull and from Boulogne to Sluis for English merchants. One constant proof for freighting is that when a ship from Holland or Zeeland is arrested, the cargo goes free as the property of another man.

A great increase in this freighting trade was brought about when Edward III converted the English merchant fleet to purposes of war and thus destroyed its effectiveness in commerce. Recourse had then to be had to foreign ships, and the effect on the English cargo fleet was so serious that in the reign of Richard II a law similar to the later Navigation Act was passed in the interests of English shipping. It is important to note that export licences were sometimes granted to Englishmen and Zeelanders in partnership. There is evidence that Hollanders and Zeelanders were taking part in the export coal trade as early as 1352.

### **3. 5.3. 5.**

The 13th century witnesses the growing importance of the Low German traders in Flanders, England, and Norway. In the North Sea trade their ships compete ever more successfully with the English, Flemings, Danes, and Norwegians, and towards the middle of the century we get the first foundation of the later Hansa trading system.

The settlement of the German traders in London was very old and very important. The corporation of the Merchants of

**3. 5.**M. 4-5, 132-7; I.C. I. 195-6, 422, 497; II. 237; Ch. 89, 93; M.A. 35, 59; Ram.D.C. 301; Colvin, 32-44, 63-71, 155-74.

the Steelyard dates from the reign of Henry III. In 1194 Richard I had granted a charter to the men of Cologne; Hamburg, Bremen, and Brunswick long struggled for equal recognition, but it came first to Lübeck, which had declared for Richard. Little by little the merchants had purchased property surrounding the original grants until they had a great body of buildings all enclosed by a wall and fences. The settlement was immediately on the Thames above London Bridge, so that the Hansa vessels unloaded at their own wharf. This London 'kontor' maintained its independence longer than any other Hansa settlement abroad, and only applied for the assistance of the League when it found itself helpless before the great movement of the English commons against foreign interference in trade, which came at the end of the reign of Edward III. The privileges of the Gildhall in participation in the retail trade in certain wares, in the right of forming a union for mutual support, in advantages of residence and the possession of property, were all most valuable for a factory in a foreign land. It is probable that there were Hansas of Germans in other towns, such as Boston and Lynn, for we know that Germans in those towns had some sort of an organization as early as 1271.

At first the German merchants in England were from Saxony, Westphalia, the Lower Rhine and Friesland, and the Waalsch-Lotharingsch district; these probably formed in the 12th century a close ring of Germans in England, out of which the last group soon separated. Then in the beginning of the 13th century new groups of Germans appeared in England, and the incorporation of these into the old group seems to have been attended with some difficulty. Merchants who were not received in the Baltic as German merchants were not accepted into the ring. In the later years of the 13th century merchants from the Prussian and Livonian towns were accepted as Germans; so also were men from the Netherland Hanse towns; but Hollanders and Zeelanders never qualified as merchants from Germany.

The Hansa brought to England the products of the Baltic lands, timber, tar, salt, iron, silver, salted and smoked fish, furs, amber, and potash; and manufactured goods obtained by the Hansa through their more distant trade connexions, such as fine woven goods, armour and other metal goods, even spices and other Eastern products which came by way of the great Russian

fairs. They took in return mainly fine wool, lead and tin, cattle, jet, and in some years corn.

The highest point in the fortunes of the Hansa in England comes in the reign of Edward IV. They had helped him to his throne because they were afraid that French trading interests might become dominant in England with the success of Margaret and Warwick, and in return they obtained very favourable terms for themselves, absolute possession of their factories at London, Boston, and Lynn, £10,000 for injuries done to them, this sum not to be paid down, but to be deducted from the customs as they accrued, and the right of selling Rhenish wines by retail. Nevertheless, though apparently more prosperous than ever, their monopoly of the Baltic trade was already broken, and their decline and fall was rapid.

The Merchant Adventurers urged the Privy Council in 1551 that the Hansards had abused their privileges and that they ought to forfeit them; their special privileges were resumed and they were put on the same footing as other alien merchants. Though they never regained their old position, their trade with England did not succumb to the blow; through the first half of Elizabeth's reign they continued to carry on a good trade in English cloth, and the extra channel of exportation provided by them was of the utmost value in the stoppages of trade with the Netherlands. Moreover, the Germans, in spite of the strenuous efforts of the Adventurers to dislodge them, continued to retain their right to buy cloth direct from the country clothier in Blackwell Hall, the London cloth hall. This privilege also they lost in 1576, and all their remaining privileges were resumed in 1580. In the year of the Armada English privateers were preying on Hanseatic commerce on the pretext that the League was aiding Spain. In pursuance of the English policy of cutting off the sources of the Spanish food supply, the Hanseatic corn fleet of many ships destined for Spain was captured by

English cruisers. This was a blow from which the Hansa never recovered, as the merchants were unable to replace the vessels which they had lost.

### **3. 6.3. 6.**

Part of the Netherlands was a Hansa district. Towns in Gelderland, Overijssel, and Friesland belonged to the League, but none from Limburg, Brabant, Holland, or Zeeland. Merchants from this district appeared in England at a very early

**3. 6.**M. 25-90, 227-34, 242-51.

date. Tiel was driving a flourishing trade with England in the 11th century, and when the town began to decline at the end of the 12th century, its place was taken by Utrecht. Utrecht in its turn lost its trade, and at the end of the 13th century gave place to Deventer, Zutphen, Harderwijk, and Kampen. The principal Frisian ports trading to England were Stavoren and Groningen. England treated these towns exactly as she treated the other members of the League; there was no separate policy towards them.

The exports of this district were river and sea fish, some cattle, and a little oats; the imports for its own consumption were iron, lead, copper, coal, and cloth. The principal trade, however, was a transit trade; the Waal towns were the intermediaries for the trade with middle Germany, the Friesland and Groningen towns for the Baltic and Northern trade, particularly from Bergen to the north country ports of England. The rise of Lübeck destroyed their Baltic trade. In this transit trade they took from England grain, malt, salt, and cloth, and brought in exchange wine from the Rhineland, herrings from Schonen, pitch, tar, and ship-timber from Prussia, and probably the industrial products of the Rhineland and Westphalia.

### **3. 7.3. 7.**

The English merchants trading to the Netherlands in articles other than those controlled by the Staplers received privileges from the Duke of Brabant as early as the 13th century, and the right of settling their disputes before their own 'consul' in the 14th century. The earlier charters, whether of English or foreign princes, down to the middle of the 15th century, were not granted to a company as such, but to the merchants of England trading beyond the seas in general, and the privileges thus gained were shared by the merchants of other ports as well as of London. It is probable, however, that the body which took the initiative in procuring the charters was a body of London merchants trading at Bruges and Antwerp, and who were bound together in a fraternity dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket. In early days they admitted other English merchants to the fraternity, or at any rate to the exercise of trade under the charter, on fairly easy terms, but as the expenses of the establishment grew and the trade became more important, they raised their fees. This gild of Londoners managed to acquire such control of the Netherlands trade that no Englishman, though

**3. 7.**I.C. I. 494; II. 224, 227-9, 246, 249; Ch. 165; M.A. 36; Colvin, 82-94.

according to law and the treaties perfectly free to buy and sell in the Netherlands, could share in it until he had paid the entrance fee imposed on him. This was eventually made so high that the merchants from the provincial ports were shut out from direct trade with the Netherlands and were obliged to deal through the agency of members of the gild, with the result that the market for English cloth was restricted. In 1497, however, the gild was forced to admit these provincial merchants to a recognized position in its organization, and separate Courts of the Company were set up at Hull and York, while Lynn, Norwich, Ipswich, Exeter, and Southampton are also specified in 1603 as ports from which the Merchant Adventurers traded. The governing body was the Court at Antwerp, a town which had come to be the centre of the commercial world and with which Henry VII had established close commercial relationships in 1496.

In 1494 the Merchant Adventurers had moved their factory from Bruges, whose trade had decayed, to Antwerp, and the trade which they attracted to the port contributed not a little to its rapid rise. They carried there very large quantities of cloth and much of this was undyed and undressed, so that a considerable industrial population was employed in finishing the goods. The Englishmen were also large purchasers of hardware manufactured in Germany and passed down the Rhine to Antwerp. The Adventurers appear to have been affected to some extent by the habits of such a cosmopolitan city as Antwerp, and it seems to have been felt advisable to take special precautions against the marriage of English merchants into Flemish families. Political changes soon led to the entire detachment of the English colony and eventually to its removal elsewhere. In 1564 the Company obtained their Charter, which for the first time gave a legal basis to their monopoly of the Netherlands trade. Numerous interlopers denied the right of the Company and opened out new markets in defiance of them. The Newcastle Adventurers claimed that they were an older and independent body, and though they had decisions in their favour in 1630 and 1637, they were hard hit by the prohibition of the export of wool to the Low Countries in 1618, and some years later, when they had built up an export trade in coarse cloth to Holland, the passing of the Navigation Act of 1651 ruined it.

Persistent English privateering and the Navigation Act of

1563 caused a stoppage of trade in the next year, and the breach was never really healed. The Adventurers were driven from Antwerp, but were invited to settle in Hamburg and Emden. They chose Emden, but found a very inadequate sale for their cloth; so they changed their quarters, first to Cologne and then to Frankfort, where they came into touch with the merchants whom they used to meet in Antwerp. A second stoppage followed in 1568, and the goods of the Adventurers and Staplers in the Low Countries were arrested. This trade was never recovered in Elizabeth's reign, and Antwerp was finally closed to the Adventurers in 1575; but by that time many English merchants as well as the Adventurers had made their way to south Germany. The opening of new markets to free enterprise was the last thing the Company wanted. They tried to control the German trade from their station at Hamburg and, when the breach with the Hanseatic League drove them from that town, from Stade on the other side of the Elbe. The main stream of trade never afterwards reverted to the old Netherlands channel, and when the Hansa had withdrawn from active trade with England, the whole of the intercourse between England and the valleys of the Rhine and Elbe came under the control of the Adventurers. The Company remained prominent and active until the 18th century.

### **3. 8.3. 8.**

English merchants in Prussia and the Hansa towns found themselves exposed to loss and at a disadvantage because there was no proper authority to regulate their affairs and to settle disputes among them. They elected a governor whose authority was confirmed by Richard II in 1391; later Henry IV empowered the merchants trading in those parts to meet together and elect governors who should not only have authority in quarrels but should have power to arrange disputes between English and foreign merchants, and to secure redress for any injury that might be done them in foreign parts. This was in 1404, and similar privileges were afterwards granted to the English merchants of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

In the north Englishmen were now pushing their trade to such an extent that they were brought into difficulties with more than one power. At the beginning of the 15th century, the Hansards found their monopoly of the Baltic trade threatened

**3. 8.** I.C. I. 415-18; II. 206-13, 234-6; A.I. 218; M.A. 47; Ch. Eliz. II. 17-18.

by the dominance of the Danes in the Scandinavian peninsula. On the whole, the English gained in this struggle between the Danes and the Hansards, for they were enabled to open up communications with Prussia. Even amid the concessions to the Hansa granted by the Treaty of



Utrecht in 1474, the right of the English to trade in the Baltic was not given up; indeed, the position of the Eastland merchants who traded to Prussia was on paper made more secure, though it does not appear that they gained much in practice.

In the 16th century a movement was set on foot by the London merchants to establish the Baltic trade after the manner of organization of the Merchant Adventurers. This trade had been open to all Englishmen and had been as great a resource to the free traders of the east coast as the Spanish trade had been to those of the west and south. It was henceforth to be restricted to the members of a new corporation, the Eastland Company, and the justification of this arbitrary restriction was sought in the prevalence of privateering. The provincial ports on the east coast were to participate in this new company, but those merchants alone were to be admitted who had traded to the Baltic ten years before the foundation of the Company, that is before 1568.

The Eastland Company competed in one of the two great branches of Hansa trade, that with Scandinavia, Poland, and the German ports on the Baltic. The Company exported English cloth, but their voyages were important to the country not so much because they kept open a market for our commodities as because they secured a supply of tar, hemp, cordage, and other naval stores, and what is of even more importance, in view of the increasing impoverishment of the English forests, a supply of masts, spars, and shipbuilding timber. The Company seems to have carried on a vigorous trade in the early part of the 17th century and was resuscitated at the Restoration, but there is some difficulty in tracing its later history. Eventually England looked to her plantations in North America for timber, and a decrease in the demand for English cloth contributed to the decline of the Baltic trade. England failed, owing to her lack of proper shipping, to secure the lion's share of the commerce formerly carried on by the Hanseatic League. The great Baltic corn trade to Spain and the Mediterranean fell into the hands of the Dutch and was the mainspring and foundation of their maritime power.

The rise of the United Provinces and the success of the Dutch against Spain compelled the notice of Englishmen. The Dutch were ever present in the minds of English statesmen of the 17th century as an example of economic development. That the Dutch had developed a great trading and maritime power marked them out for the imitation of men who were striving to excel on those very lines.

The trade between England and the Netherlands was largely in the hands of the Dutch, while much of England's trade with other countries was carried on in Dutch vessels. The rivalry became keen, and one of the measures taken against Dutch trade was the celebrated Navigation Act of 1651, which was aimed directly at the maritime power of Holland. This Act can scarcely have affected Dutch commerce severely so long as the Dutch kept their hold on New Amsterdam and used it as a depot for clandestine trade with the English colonies in North America. In one branch of trade the measure even recoiled upon England. The English had not sufficient ships of such burden as could be employed in the Scandinavian and Baltic trade, and the restrictions imposed on them compelled English merchants to abandon this line of trade altogether; the Dutch obtained a more complete monopoly of the Baltic trade which was the very foundation of their maritime power, and so could afford to relinquish the plantation trade, which was at that time a somewhat small affair. The hostile measures taken against the Dutch proved detrimental to the Scots, who had little shipping but a considerable market in the American colonies for their cloth, which was transported in Dutch ships. On the whole it seems that the Dutch did not suffer perceptibly in the 17th century. The zenith of her commercial greatness was attained in the early years of the 18th century, and at that time she was still far ahead of England in her maritime and shipping resources. Although England had not overtaken her rival, yet she was gaining in the race, for her shipping had developed enormously during the later part of the 17th century.

### 3. 9.

The following words were probably introduced directly through the Flanders wool trade. **Pack** (a. 1225), a bundle of things enclosed in a wrapping; the 13th-century forms are *packe* and *pakke*, apparently from e.M.Flem. *pac* (12th century), (M.Du. and MLG. *pak*); the earliest instance of the word yet recorded is at Ghent (1199), and it occurs at Utrecht in 1244;

the Flem. vb. *pakken*, however, appears at an earlier date in connexion with the wool trade. The vb. **Pack** (1280) is later in English, and is either from the sb. or directly from M.Du., MLG. *pakken*. Three derivatives of *pack* are to be noticed: **Pack-needle** (1327) is from *pack* and *needle*, but perhaps after a Low Dutch form (Kilian has *packnaelde*); **Packer** (1353), an officer charged with the packing or supervision of the packing of exported goods liable to custom; from, *pack* and *-er*, but perhaps after the Low Dutch (Kilian has *packer*); **Packcloth** (14 .., 1565-73), a stout, coarse kind of cloth used in packing; from *pack* and *cloth*, but perhaps after Low Dutch forms (Kilian has *pack-kleed*).

Another term used in the packing of goods is **Bale** (c. 1325), a large bundle or package of merchandise, originally of a more or less rounded shape; from OF. *bale*, *balle*, which possibly came directly into ME., but Flem. also borrowed the word from OF. as *bale*, and the ME. is perhaps from this.

**Staple** (1423), the town or place appointed by royal authority, in which was a body of merchants having the exclusive right of purchase of certain classes of goods destined for export; the English word has not been found earlier than 1423, but the AF. *estaple* and the AL. *stapula* occur in official documents from the reign of Edward II onwards; ad. OF. *estaple*, emporium, mart, ad. MLG. *stapol*, *stapel*, pillar, platform, stocks for shipbuilding, &c. (whence also med.L. *stapula* and *stapulus*); the MLG. and M.Du. *stapel* have the sense emporium, mart, in addition to the above senses, but it is uncertain whether this sense was developed in MLG. or whether it originated in OF. and was thence adopted into MLG.; at any rate it is possible that the AF. and AL. forms were reinforced by the Low Dutch forms, though themselves from OF. ad. MLG.

**Tod** (1425), a weight used in the wool trade, usually 28 pounds, but varying locally; of Low Dutch origin, but no M.Du. or MLG. form can be postulated; apparently the same word as E.Fris. *todde*, bundle, pack, small load; *tod*, load, is also found in the modern dialects of Groningen, Guelderland, and Overijssel.

### 3. 10.

The words borrowed from the MLG. of the Hansa traders of north Germany fall into four sections: (1) terms of general trade; (2) terms of the fur trade; (3) specific terms of the trade in Baltic products; (4) terms of the timber trade.

The following are the terms of general trade. **Trade** (c. 1375, *Sc. Leg. Saints*), ad. MLG. *trade* (*trâ*), LG. *trade*, a track; was perhaps introduced originally in nautical language for the course or track of a ship, and was afterwards extended to the other senses of ME. *trede*, as course, way, path, track of beast or man. **Westvale** (1385), a variety of cloth of Westphalian origin, one of the articles brought in by the Hansa from Westphalia; ad. MLG. *Westvale*, *Westval*, Westphalian.

A term for a measure used in the Hansa trade is **Shock** (1391 in the non-Eng. context of *E. Derby's Exped.*; 1583 in an Eng. context), a lot of 60 pieces, used in relation to certain articles of merchandise originally imported from abroad; ad. MLG. *schock* (Du. *schok*).

**Tear**, adj. and sb. (c. 1400), is a traders' term descriptive of their wares, fine, delicate, of the best quality, especially used in connexion with hemp or flour; apparently from Low Dutch, which has the following forms, M.Du., M.Flem., MLG., and LG. *teer*, *têr*, contracted from *teeder*, *têder*, fine, thin, delicate, tender.

Terms of the northern fur trade are: **Timber** (in L. context as early as a. 1150 in Scotland and 1290 in England, and in Eng. context first in 1473-4), a definite quantity of furs, a package containing 40 skins of ermine, sable, marten, and the like; found in MLG. as *timber* (13th century),

*timmer*, and occurring earlier in med.L. as *timbrum*, *timbria* (1207, Du Cange, at Rouen); it is supposed to be ultimately a special use of timber, wood, perhaps because the furs were packed with a stiffening of thin boards, and to have originated in LG. as a term of the fur trade, whence it spread into other languages; O.E.D. says that the immediate source of ME. *timbre* appears to have been F. (OF. *timbre*, 1350 in Godefroy). **Wildware** (1393), fur of wild animals; ad. MLG. *wildware*, from *wild*, wild, and *ware*, ware, goods.

Some words for fur-bearing beasts are of Low Dutch origin and come into English either directly or through French. **Fitchew** (1394), the fur of the polecat, the animal itself; ad. OF. *fissel*, later *fissau*, a diminutive formation of the word which appears in Du. of the 16th and 17th centuries as *fisse*, *visse*, *vitsche* (Kilian and Hexham). **Marten** (14 .., 1422), in ME. *martren*; the skins and fur of the animal now called marten; ad. OF. *martrine*, marten fur, ad. Du. and M.Du. *martren*. **Fitch** (1550),

the fitchew; (1502), the fur of the polecat; ad. M.Du. *visse*, *fisse*, but perhaps through an unrecorded French form.

There are three terms of specific Baltic products in which the Hansa dealt. **Osmund** (1280), a superior quality of iron imported from the Baltic in very small bars and rods for the manufacture of arrow-heads, fish-hooks, &c.; the earliest form in ME., *osemund*, has the MLG. *ose-* form, MLG. *osemunt*, Westph. dialect *ôsemund*, and was probably borrowed from Hansa traders; *osmund*, the form from c. 1400, appears to be from Sw., O.Sw. *osmunder*, in compounds *osmunds-iaern*, Sw. *osmund*; it is noteworthy that iron and copper were brought to England by Gotlanders before 1300. **Tallow** (a. 1300), in ME. *talȝ*, *talgh*; the word corresponds to MLG. *talg*, *talch*; the words occur in Du. and G. and the Scand. languages in forms which indicate a common origin, but nowhere yet has the word been found before the 13th century; in the Scand. languages a great diversity of gender suggests that the word is borrowed from MLG.; the ME. word may have had a similar origin, as the commodity was one much dealt in by the Baltic traders; there is, of course, the possibility of an unrecorded OE. *\*tealh*, *\*taelh*. **Train** (1497 in a non-Eng. context, 1515 in an Eng. context), the earlier name for what is now called train oil; in the 15th and 16th centuries the form was *trane*, ad. MLG. and LG. *trân*, M.Du. *traen*, Du. *traan*, oil extracted; the word passed from LG. into Da. and Sw.

A number of words were brought in by the Baltic timber trade. **Spar** (13 .., *Cursor M.*), one of the common rafters of a roof; (1388, in Nicholas, *Hist. Roy. Navy*), a pole or piece of timber, esp. an undressed stem under 6 inches in diameter; (1640), a general term for all masts, yards, booms, &c.; probably of Low Dutch origin, compare M.Du. *sparre*, spar, spare, also M.Du. and Flem. *sperre*, spar; but ON. had *sperri* and *sperra*, and the quotation of 13 .. may be of ON. origin.

**Shotboard** (1310), of uncertain meaning, but probably a board of wainscot; *shot* may be from M.Du. *schot*, a partition, with substitution of *sh-* for *sk-* on the analogy of the numerous English words with initial *sh-*, or it may represent a similar alteration of the second element in *wainscot*. Wainscot (1352-3, *Ely Sac. Rolls*), a superior quality of foreign oak imported from Russia, Germany, and Holland, chiefly used for fine panel work; ad. MLG. *wagenschot* (1389), apparently from *wagen*, carriage, and

*schot* (of doubtful meaning, cf. MLG. *bokenschot*, LG. *bökenschot*, beechwood of superior quality); 16th-century Flem. has a form *waeghescot*, *waeghenschot* (Kilian); the synonymous Du. or Flem. *wandschot* (Kilian) may be the source of the Eng. forms as *wandschoth* (14th century), and is either an etymologizing perversion of *wagenschot* or an independent formation on *wand*, wall of a room; the English examples of the word are earlier than those given in the MLG. and M.Du. dictionaries, and the first element appears already in the earliest instances assimilated to the English *Wain*.

**Rigald** (1338 in Nicholas, *Hist. Roy. Navy*), timber for light spars; the ME. forms are *riholt* (1399), *richolt* (15th century), and these appear to represent MLG. *regel-*, *rigelholt* (M.Du. *rigelhout*), from *regel*, rail, spar, and *holt*, wood. **Spire** (1392), a spar or pole of timber; chiefly of Northern or



Sc. location; perhaps from ON. *spíra*, but a Low Dutch origin is more likely (M.Du. *spier*, LG. *spiere*, *spier*, N.Fris. *spir*, W.Fris. *spier*).

**Deal** (1402, in C. Frost, *Early Hist. Hull*), a slice sawn from a log of timber, a plank of pine or firwood; ad. MLG. *dele*, plank, floor. **Knag** (c. 1440), a short spur or stiff projection from the trunk or branch of a tree; ME. *knag* or *knagge* are probably from MLG. *knagge*, a knot; Da. *knag*, Sw. *knagge* were probably borrowed from LG.; **Knag**, vb. and **Knagged** are regarded as derivatives, but are evidenced before it. **Raff** (c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.* as *raafman*, 1459, *Relig. Ord. Norwich* as *rafman*), foreign timber usually in the form of deals; perhaps ad. G. *raf*, *raff(e)*, obs. or dial., from *rafe*, *rafter*, beam. **Rafter** is of course from OE. *raeffer*, but the Sc. forms with *-ch-* (*rach-*, *rauch-*, *rawch-*, *raychter*) are probably from the MLG. *rachter* (also *rafter*); it is probable that even in English this form of the word was reinforced from LG., as e.g. *raucher*, 1592, in Lyly's *Galathea*. **Clapboard** (c. 1520, *Mem. Ripon*), originally a small size of split oak imported from north Germany, and used by coopers for making barrel-staves, &c.; a partially Englished form of MLG. *klapholt*, with *board* for *holt*. **Clapholt** (1477) is earlier, and may be ad. MLG. *klapholt* or M.Du. *clapholt*, *-hout*. **Scabbard** (1635), a thin board used in making splints, the scabbards of swords, veneer, &c., and by printers in making register; apparently ad. MLG. *schalbort*, thin board sawn off a length of timber in squaring it, from *schale*, shell, rind, and *bort*, board.

### 3. 11.

Very many names were borrowed from Low Dutch for

the various commodities which were handled in the course of trade. The most numerous are names for kinds of cloth.

In Middle English the following appear. **Lewyn** (1360), a kind of linen cloth which takes its name from its place of origin, Louvain, in Flem. *Leuven*. **Lampas** (1390), a kind of glossy crape; it occurs in Hall's *Chron. Hen. VIII* (a. 1548), in the compound *lampas douck* (Du. *doek*, cloth), and this suggests that the word may have been adopted from M.Du.; the recorded form in M.Du. and e.mod.Du. is *lampers*, and compare with this 16th-century English *lampors*. **Lyre** (1390-1 in the non-Eng. context of *E. Derby's Exped.*, 1421 in an Eng. context), the name, med.L. *Lyra*, of a town in Brabant, now Lire or Liere, occurring in the designation of certain kinds of cloth, as black of Lyre, green of Lyre, &c. **Puke** (1466), a superior kind of woollen cloth of which gowns were made; (1530), a colour, formerly used for woollen goods, bluish-black or inky; I. ME. *pewke*, *puke*, ad. M.Du. *puuc*, *puyck*, the name of the best sort of woollen cloth; its use to designate a colour is only found in English. **Brunswick** (1480), the LG. name of the town; it was formerly used as the name of a textile fabric, and is still used attributively in Brunswick black, green. **Mechlin** (1483), in Mechlin black, a black cloth made at Mechlin in Brabant; (1699), Mechlin lace; Mechlin is the Flem. name for Malines. **Russel** (1488), a kind of woollen fabric formerly used for articles of attire, especially in the 16th century; possibly for *Rijssel*, the Flem. name for Lille; the early forms and the fact that black and other colours occur more frequently than red are against connexion with OF. *russel*, reddish. **Dornick** (1489), a silk, worsted woollen or partly woollen fabric used for hangings; also a kind of linen cloth used in Scotland for the table; the name of a Flemish town (in French, Tournai), applied to certain fabrics originally manufactured there.

In the modern period there is a large group of words which are the names of cloths made abroad and imported into England under their foreign names. As in Middle English many of them are named after their place of manufacture.

**Bruges** (1517), the French name for the Flemish city of Brugge, used attributively in Bruges satin, the name of a kind of satin manufactured at this town. **Cambric** (1530), a kind of fine, white linen made originally at Cambrai; in the 16th century the forms were *camerick(e)* or *camerick*, from *Kameryk* or

*Kamerijk*, the Flemish name of Cambrai. **Stammet** (1531), a woollen fabric; ad. OF. *estamet*, from *estame* and *-et*, diminutive suffix, but Du. has *stamet*, woollen yarn, and this may be the immediate source of the English word. **Calamanco** (1592), a woollen stuff of Flanders, glossy on the surface and woven with a satin twill and chequered in the warp so that the checks are seen on one side only, much used in the 18th century; the origin of the name is unknown, but Du. has *kalamink*, *kalmink*, and the Eng. word is probably from this with the *-co* ending possibly by analogy with *Calico* (recorded first in 1540). **Salempore** (1598, W. Phillips, trans. Linschoten), a blue cotton cloth formerly made at Nellore in India, and largely exported to the West Indies, where it was the usual slave cloth; the Du. name for it was *salamporij* (17th century), and the first English occurrence is in the translation of a Dutch book; Mr. C.L. Wrenn's suggestion that the origin of the word is *Salem*, the name of a south Indian town, and *pore*, city, town, is probably correct.

**Slyre** (1621, from Sc.), a fine kind of linen or lawn; ad. LG. *sleier*, *slijer*, fine linen, veil. **Duck** (1640), a strong, untwilled, linen fabric, lighter and finer than canvas; apparently ad. 17th-century Du. *doeck*, linen or linen cloth (Hexham, 1678). **Barras** (1640), the name of a coarse linen fabric imported from Holland; Dutch *barras* is mentioned in a charter of 1640 granted by Charles II to the City of London, and Bense supposes it to be a Dutch borrowing, though there seems to be no word corresponding in either form or meaning in Du., Flem., or LG. **Gimp, Gymp** (1664), silk, worsted, or cotton twist with a cord of wire running through it; Du. *gimp* in the same sense appears in Jacob Cats (died 1660) earlier than the first example of the English word, and so it may have been borrowed from Du. **Duffel, Duffle** (1677), a coarse woollen cloth having a thick nap or frieze; it is named after the place of manufacture, Duffel, a town of Brabant, between Antwerp and Mechlin. **Burlap** (1695), originally perhaps a sort of holland, now a coarse canvas made of jute or hemp and used for bagging; Bense suggests that it is from an unrecorded Du. *\*boerenlap*, in which *boeren* is meant to express the same notion that it has in *boerenkost*, 'coarse fare'; *boeren* in this sense is often used in Holland to express coarseness in appearance, manners, language, &c.; *lap*, a piece of cloth, clout, so *\*boerenlap*, a coarse piece of cloth, hence coarse cloth, and this would suit the form as well as the

sense. **Gulix** (1696), a kind of fine linen; from Du. *Gulik*, the town of Juliers. **Ticklenburgs** (1696), a kind of coarse linen cloth; from Tecklenburg, a town and district in Westphalia, noted for its manufacture of linen.

**Ghenting** (a. 1700), a kind of linen; from Ghent, where it was originally made. **Sail-duck** (1795), see **Duck** (p. 49); from Du. *zeildoek*. **Flushing** (1883), a kind of rough, thick woollen cloth; from Flushing, the English name for the Zeeland town of Vlissingen, where it was first manufactured. **Brussels** (1845), used attributively for Brussels carpet and Brussels lace; from the place of manufacture.

The following are the names of commodities other than cloth imported from the Low Countries. In Middle English appear: **Walshnut** (1368-9), walnut; the word was probably adopted from M.Du. or MLG., though documentary evidence of its existence in those languages is wanting (Kilian has *walsche not*, cf. also MHG. *wälhischnuz*, 'Welsh', i.e. Italian or Gaulish nut). **Lukes** (1472, as *Lukys iron*), made at Liège, said especially of velvet and hardware; ad. Du. *Luiksch*, from Luik, a town and province of Belgium. **Skaillie** (1496, from Sc.), blue roofing slate; ad. M.Du. *schaelie* or ad. OF. *escaille*.

Words of this kind are more numerous in the modern period. Two are the names of dye-stuffs: **Safflower** (1583), the dried petals of the *Carthamus tinctorius*, also the red dye which they produce; ad. Du. *saffloer(s)*; the form has been influenced by association with saffron, although safflower is a wholly different flower. **Mull** (1640), the lowest of the four qualities of Dutch madder; also as a compound, **Mull-madder**; ad. Du. *mul*, mull.

The trade in Baltic honey is responsible for **Werke** (1598), honeycomb; ad. MLG. *werk* (LG. *wark*); the quotation, from *Hakluyt's Voyages*, refers to Hanseatic traders of 1395-8.

**Snute** (1649, *Rec. Mcht. Advs. Newcastle*), a commodity made out of flax, the combings of the tow; ad. Du. *snuut*, or Flem. *snuite*, *snute*.

The habit of taking snuff brought in the word **Snuff** (1683), a preparation of powdered tobacco; probably ad. Du. and Flem. *snuf*, or *snuif*, an abbreviation of *snuif-tabac*; the practice of taking snuff appears to have become fashionable in England about 1680, but prevailed earlier in Ireland and Scotland. The vb. **Snuff** (1527, Andrew Brunswyke's *Distilled Waters*) is over a century and a half earlier, and appears first in a medical

treatise; it has the sense to draw up or through the nostrils by the action of inhalation; probably ad. M.Du. *snoffen*, *snuffen*.

The large trade in Dutch earthenware gives the name for the commonest ware, **Delf, Delft** (1714), a kind of glazed earthenware originally called Delf ware; from Delf, now Delft, a town in Holland; when the paragogic *-t* was added to the Dutch *Delf*, it was also extended to the English word. A Rhineland commodity was **Rhinehurst** (1724), Burgundy pitch; ad. Du. *rhyneharst*, ad. G. *rheinharz*, from *Rhein*, Rhine, and *harz*, resin. A term of the Rhenish wine trade was **Muzzle** (1853), Moselle wine; ad. Du. *Moezel* or G. *Mosel*.

One word came in from the important Dutch monopoly trade in East Indian spices. **Rump** (1602), refuse of nutmegs; ad. Du. *romp*, pieces of cloves and nutmegs (in Kilian *rompe*, MLG. *rompe*). The Dutch were pioneers in the manufacture and trade in artificial butter or margarine, and the name of one variety has been borrowed; **Bosch, Bosh** (1879), short for Bosch butter, the artificial butter manufactured at 's Hertogenbosch or den Bosch in Holland (Bense).

A number of words have come in through the trade in spirits; they are mainly the names of Dutch gin products. **Brandy** (a. 1622), in the 17th century also *brandwine*, *brandewine*, *brandywine*, the abbreviation of which, brandy, was in familiar use as early as 1657; this is the Du. *brandewijn* (*brandende wijn*, 'aqua ardens, vinum ardens', Kilian). **Geneva** (1706), a spirit distilled from grain and flavoured with the juice of juniper berries; it is made in Holland and is hence called also Hollands; ad. Du. *genever*, *jenever* (the ending being assimilated to that of Geneva, the town), ad. F. *genevra*, juniper. The shortened form of this word is **Gin** (1714), which has now practically superseded the full form *geneva*. **Hollands** (1714, in *Hollands gin*, 1788), another name for *geneva* because manufactured in Holland; ad. Du. *hollandsch* (pronounced *hollands*), Hollandish, Dutch, in *hollandsche genever*, Hollands gin. **Schiedam** (1821), a variety of gin, so called from the town in Holland where it was manufactured. A name for a measure of spirits which probably came in through this trade is **Sopie** (1696), a drink of spirits, a dram; ad. Du. *zoopje*, dram, sip, diminutive of *zope*, sup; this word was borrowed independently in S. Africa.

One term of the English export trade in hides is probably of Dutch origin. **Kip** (c. 1525), a set or bundle of small hides containing a definite number; this corresponds to and is probably from M.Du. *kip*, *kijp*, a pack or bundle, especially of hides; the difficulty of the word is that it also has the sense (1530) the hide of a young or small beast, and there is no evidence that this sense was developed out of that of pack or bundle of hides.

### 3. 12.

An important group of words is that dealing with the method and conduct of trade. The following three words, which were introduced into Middle English, may have been borrowed by English merchants in their trading journeys and residence in the Low Countries. Two of them refer to the manner of transport of goods. **Trail**, vb. (1302, Robert of Brunne), the senses in ME. are to draw behind one, to drag along the ground, to hang down so as to drag along the ground; the word agrees in form with OE. *traegelian* (only in Prudentius Glosses, glossing L. *carpere*, to pluck, snatch, tear off), but not in sense; it is apparently the same word as ONF. *trailer* (14th century in Godefroy), M.Flem. *treylen*, *treilen*, *treelen*, MLG. *treilen*, *tröilen*, all meaning to haul or tow a boat; it is possible that though the form existed in OE., this is a fresh borrowing in ME. from Low Dutch. **Sled** (1388), a drag used for the transport of heavy goods; (1586), a sledge or sleigh used as a vehicle in travelling; ad. M.Flem. or MLG. *sledde*, related to *slede*, *slead*. **Mart** (1437), a periodical gathering of people for the purpose of buying and selling, in early use chiefly with reference to the

Low Countries; later used with special reference to the German booksellers' fair held at Easter, originally at Frankfurt and afterwards at Leipzig; ad. Du. *markt*, M.Du. *marct* (formerly also written *mart*, and still commonly so pronounced). The vb. **Mart** (1553) is much later; to do business at a fair; from the sb., though Du. has the vb. *markten*.

Three other Middle English words must be classed as general trade terms. **Weigh-scale** (13.., c. 1440), the pan of a balance, in the plur. a pair of scales; this word was originally borrowed in northern English; ad. Du. *waagschaal*, or MLG. *wagescale*. **Cope** (c. 1430, Lydgate), to buy, barter, exchange; of Low Dutch origin, originally used by Lydgate as Flemish; ad. M.Du. *côpen* (LG. *kôpen*), to buy, traffic. **Scavage** (1474, Caxton), a toll levied by the Corporation of London and other towns on

merchant strangers, on goods offered for sale within the precincts; this word is from Low Dutch through AF.; ad. AF. *scawage*, *schawage*, north-eastern OF. *escauwage*, from *escauwer*, to inspect, ad. Flem. *scauwen*, to inspect, look at. Derivatives of scavage are **Scavage**, vb. (1851), **Scavager** (1307), **Scavenge**, vb. (a. 1644), and **Scavenger** (1530).

There is an interesting group of words all borrowed in Scotland; they show how frequent was the presence of the Low Dutch merchant and pedlar in the Scottish towns and countryside. **Coff** (1425), to buy, purchase; M.Du. *copen* had past pple. and past tense *cofte*, *gecoft*; when the word was borrowed only these past tense and past pple. forms seem to have been used, and a new present *coff* was formed on the analogy of the past tenses. Related to *coff* is **Cofe** (1471), a bargain; (1555), a hawker or pedlar; the mode of formation is uncertain and the two meanings may be distinct derivations from *coff*, M.Du. has *coop*, trade, and perhaps confusion of *coff* and *coop* became *cofe* with the vowel from *coop* and the *-f* from *coff*.

**Wrack** (1472-5), that which is of an inferior, poor, or worthless quality, waste material, rubbish; ad. (M)LG. or Du. *wrak* (whence also Da. *vrag*, Sw. *vrak*, refuse). **Wrak**, vb. (1609), wrake; ad. MLG. *wracken*, to reject, refuse, a variant of *wraken*, wrake. **Wracker** (1584), from *wrack* and *-er*, or ad. MLG. *wraker* (whence Da. *vrag*, sorter). **Wrake** (a. 1350), refuse, rubbish, something worthless, is a variant of *wrack*, sb. **Wrake**, vb. (1584), to examine goods with a view to rejecting or destroying the unsound, faulty, or damaged; ad. (M)LG. *wrâken* (whence Sw. *wraka*, Da. *wrage*), older Du. *wraaken*, Du. *wraken*, older Flem. *wraecken* (Kalian), to reject. **Wraker** (1584), one who inspects goods and rejects and destroys the faulty; from *wrake*, vb. and *-er*, or ad. (M)LG. *wraker*. **Crame** (1477), a booth or stall where goods are sold in market or fair; (1560), a pack or bundle of goods carried about for sale, a pedlar's stock of wares; ad. M.Du., M.Flem., or MLG. *krâme*, *kraeme*, *krâm*, tent, booth, stall, stock of wares; German traders and pedlars introduced this word into the Scand. languages also (Icel., Da., Sw., Norw. *kram*), and into Slavonic and Lithuanian. **Cramer** (1491), one who sells goods at a stall or booth, also hawker, pedlar; ad. MLG. *krêmer*, *kraemer*, *krâmer*, or M.Du. and M.Flem. *kramer*, *kraemer*, petty trader, hawker, properly the keeper of a 'crame'; this word was also introduced

into Icel., Da., and Polish by Low German traders. **Cramery** (15.., *Aberd. Reg.*), merchandise, such goods as are usually sold by a pedlar; ad. MLG. *krêmerie*, *crâmerie*, M.Du. *cremerie*, *cramerie* (Kalian has *kraemerije*), the trade or merchandise of a cramer.

**Weighgilt** (1497), a payment for weighing; formed after Du. *waaggeld* (M.Du. *waechgelt*). In the modern period we get two terms for commercial buildings. **Pawn** (1575, Sir T. Gresham), a gallery or colonnade, a covered walk or passage, especially one in a bazaar, exchange, or arcade, alongside of which wares are exposed for sale; perhaps from e.mod.Du. *pand* (Plantijn), *pandt* (Kilian, 1599, Hexham, 1678), a gallery where things are sold; *pand* is a Du. development of F. *pan*. **Packhouse** (1601), a building in which packs of goods are stored; from *pack* and *house* (see **Pack**), but perhaps after Du. *packhuis* (Kalian has *packhuys*).

There are three terms for selling by auction. **Outroop** (1598), an auction; ad. Du. *uitroep* (in Kilian *wtroep*), an auction sale, from *uit*, out, and *roepen*, to call. **Outrooper**, **-roper** (1612), an

auctioneer, at one time the specific title of the Common Crier of the City of London; from *outroop*, but compare Du. *uitroeper*. **Lyth-coop** (1681), an auction of household goods; perhaps adopted with change of sense from Du. *lijfkoop*, in M.Du. also *litcoop*, *liefcoop*, a luckpenny on the conclusion of a bargain; the Dutch forms were probably affected by popular etymology.

English traders in the Low Countries became familiar with transport of goods by canal and river barge, and the following terms of such transport were borrowed. **Track-boat** (1632), a boat which is trailed or towed, a tow-boat; originally a Sc. borrowing; this is a rendering of Du. *trek-schuit*. **Schuit** (1660), a Dutch flat-bottomed river boat; ad. Du. *schuit*, earlier *schuyt* (M.Du. *schûte*) (see **Scout** and **Shout**, p. 69). **Trekschuit**, **Treckschuit** (1696, as *draggescutte*, 1696), a canal or river boat drawn by horses, carrying passengers and goods, as in common use in Holland, a tow-boat; ad. Du. *trekschuit*, formerly *-schuyt*, from *trek*, sb. or *trek-*, vb. stem of *trekken*, to draw, pull. A term of the itinerant trade is **Hawker** (1510), a man who goes from place to place selling his goods or who cries them in the street; apparently ad. MLG. *hoker*, LG. *höker* (Du. *heuker*), higgler, hawker, huckster.

**Galyor** (c. 1515) occurs once in *Cock Lorell's Book*; possibly

this is Du. *gleyer*, a dealer in earthenware brought in galleys, a galleyman.

Very general terms of trade are: **Cope** (1562), a bargain, in the phrase *good cope*; also in the phrase *God's cope* (1520), a very large sum; from *cope*, vb. (see **Cope**, vb., p. 52). **Copeman** (1566), originally *copesman*; a chapman, merchant, dealer; the later *copeman* may have been influenced by Du. *koopman*. **Fardel** (1523), profit; ad. Du. *voordeel*, advantage.

### 3. 13.

There is an interesting group of words borrowed from Low Dutch for the names of measures and weights used in trade; by far the larger number of these in Middle English are for liquid measures, and this may be due in part to the right which the Hansa acquired to participate in the retail trade in Rhenish wines.

**Kilderkin** (1391, in the non-Eng. context of *E. Derby's Exped.*, 1410, in Eng. context), a cask for liquids, fish, &c., of a definite capacity, a cask of this size filled with some commodity; the original form was *kin-*, as ME. *kynerkin*, *kynderkin*, ad. M.Du. *kinderkin*, more commonly *kindeken*, *kinneken*, also *kyntken*, *kijn-*, *kimmekijn* (see **Kempkin**, **Kinkin**, p. 56), the fourth part of a tun; the change of *kin-* to *kil-* is apparently peculiar to English, and is found already in 1392.

**Cruse** (c. 1440, *Pallad. on Husb.*, c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.*), a small earthen vessel for liquids, a pot; ME. has *cruse*, *crowse*, *crewse*, probably ad. MLG. *krûs*, *krôs*, M.Du. *cruyse*; in modern Eng. we have beside ME. *-u-* modern Eng. *-u-*, where we should expect *-ou-*, and beside that a variant spelling in *-ui-*, *-uy-*, from the 16th century; this makes it very probable that the word was reborrowed from Du. in the modern period. The diminutive of *cruse*, **Cruskyn**, **Cruisken** (1378, Inventory in *Pr. Parv.*), is recorded nearly half a century earlier; a small vessel for holding liquids, hence a liquid measure; ad. M.Flem. *kruyseken*, *kroesken*, diminutive of *kruyse*, *kroes*, *cruse*; the word was also borrowed into OF. as *creusequin*, *crousequin*.

Similar Dutch diminutives for small measures are **Firkin** (1423), a small cask for liquids, fish, or butter, originally containing a quarter of a 'barrel' or half a kilderkin, and used later as a measure of capacity; the 15th-century form was *ferdekyn*, ad. M.Du. *\*vierdekijn*, the diminutive of *vierde*, fourth, fourth part. **Mutchkin** (1425), a measure of capacity used in Scotland, the fourth part of an old Scotch pint; ad. e.mod.Du. *mudseken*

(now *mutsje*), apparently an irregular diminutive of *mud(de)*. Dutch *mudde* or *mud* was itself borrowed as **Mud** (1477, *Extracts Aberd. Reg.*), the name for a Dutch measure of capacity.

The only measure of weight borrowed in Middle English is **Waw** (1316, *Durh. Acc. Rolls*), a measure equal to 12 stone; ad. MLG. and M.Du. *wage*, weight.

Two words came in as measures of the fruit trade. **Top** (1440-1), a basket as a measure of grapes or figs; ad. MLG. and M.Flem. *toppe*, top, basket (as a measure of raisins, figs, &c.) (Kilian has *top van vijghen*, basket of figs). There was a diminutive of this, **Toppet** (1481-90), with the same sense, a basket of fruit; it is analogous to the M.Flem. diminutive *topkin*, M.Du. *topkine*. **Tapnet**, **Topnet** (1524), is apparently altered from *toppet*.

Most of the names of measures borrowed in the modern period are again liquid measures for wines and spirits, from cask measures down to small glass measures. Perhaps some of this great variety was due to the smuggling trade in Hollands spirits. **Kinkin** (c. 1500, from Sc.), a small barrel or keg, kilderkin; ad. M.Du. *kintken*, *kinneken*, variant of *kindeken*. **Aam** (1526), a Dutch or German liquid measure, formerly used in England for Rhenish wines, a cask; it varied from 37 to 41 gallons in various continental cities; ad. Du. *aam*; *aam* is the modern Du. spelling, the Eng. forms *alm(e)*, *awme*, *aume*, *ame* being only historical. An English variant form of *aam* is **Aum** (1502).

**Rood** (1502), a measure of wine; ad. M.Du. *roede*. **Tonekin** (1546), a rare word of doubtful meaning, perhaps a small cask or barrel; if so, then perhaps ad. Flem. *tonneken*. **Kempkin** (1580, once, from Sc.), a small barrel or keg; ad. M.Du. *kimmekijn*, a variant of *kindekijn*, kilderkin. **Anker** (1597), first found in the sense of a dry measure of capacity; the more common sense of a measure of wine or spirits used in Holland, north Germany, and the Baltic occurs first in the *Pennsyl. Arch.* (1673), and not till c. 1750 in England; the measure varied in different countries, that of Rotterdam, formerly also used in England, contained 10 old wine gallons or 8 and a third imperial gallons; ad. Du. *anker*.

Two names of drinking-vessels are perhaps best included here, as most drinking-vessels serve also as measures. **Rumkin** (1636), apparently of LG. origin, and **Rummer** (1654), a large kind of drinking-glass; of Low Dutch origin, compare W.Flem. *rummer*, *rommer*, Du. *romer*, *roemer*, Fris. *romer*, LG. *römer*.

**Leaguer** (1683), a certain measure of arrack, a cask of wine or oil, and with the specifically nautical sense of the largest water casks; perhaps ad. Du. *ligger*, a tun, from *liggen*, to lie.

**Nipperkin** (1671), a measure or vessel of small capacity used for liquors, about half a pint; the form points to a Low Dutch origin, but the source is not known; M.Du. has *nypelkin*, the name of some game.

Measures of weight are **Lispound** (1545), a unit of weight used in the Baltic trade, varying at different times and in different localities from 12 to 30 pounds; ad. LG. and Du. *lispund*, contracted from *livsch pund*, Livonian pound; it is also found in the Shetlands and Orkneys (1693).

**Shippound** (1545), a unit of weight in the Baltic trade varying from 300 to 400 pounds, that is 20 lispounds; ad. MLG. *schippunt* or M.Du. *schippond* (whence ON. *skippund*). **Skippound** (1622), another form of *shippound*, at Antwerp 300 pounds; ad. Du. *schippond* or LG. *schippund*.

Quantity measures are **Terling** (a. 1502, Arnolde's *Chron.*), the name of a pack (apparently of cloth), of a definite size or quantity; ad. MLG. *terlink*, diminutive of *tere*, the name of a pack or bale twice the size; it is not clear whether the Du. *teerling*, cube, die, is connected; the quotation in Arnolde refers to rates at Amsterdam. **Skoke** (1545), a certain quantity; ad. M.Du. or MLG. *schok*. **Scote** (1633-4), a measure; perhaps ad. M.Du. *schote*, a definite quantity of small articles.

In a general sense is **Slump** (1718, from Sc.), a large quantity or number; chiefly in the phrases, *by* or *in the slump*, as a whole, collectively, *in the lump*; ad. LG. *slump*, heap, mass, quantity (*im slump köpen*, to buy in the lump) ( Du. *slomp*, Fris. *slompe*); the LG. word is also the source of Da., Sw., and Norw. *slump*.

### 3. 14.3. 14.

As might be expected many names of foreign coins were taken into English in the Middle English period. The constant measures taken by the Government against the circulation of foreign coins, often of very inferior quality and weight, prove that their circulation in England was very great. In 1299 Edward I attempted to rectify the debasement of the currency of the realm; the Mint was



reorganized and coinage of an excellent standard was issued. He also endeavoured to prevent the mischief from recurring; it had been due chiefly to the introduction of money from abroad in payment for English wool.

### 3. 14. l.C. i. 283, 327-8, 362.

The extensive trade in England by Flemish and other alien merchants in the 14th century seems to have led to the export of the better coins of England, and the import of light and debased coins, among them those known by the names of Brabant and Lushburg. These coins appear to have been made of a white metal which resembled silver. A pound weight of Lushburgs was worth only eight shillings. In 1343 a gold coin for currency in England as well as Flanders was struck in conjunction with the people of Flanders, but bad foreign money continued to find its way into England. Edward III and his queen kept their court at Louvain in the winter of 1338 and caused a large quantity of gold and silver coin to be struck at Antwerp.

The minting of money was one of the royal prerogatives, and the officers of the Exchange were empowered to see that no foreign coinage got into circulation in this country, but that it was sent to the Mint for recoinage; their efforts, however, must have been easily circumvented. For the variety of coins circulating at Calais in the 15th century see Malden, *Cely Papers*, xlix.

**Lushburg** (1346), a base coin made in imitation of the silver or sterling penny and imported from Luxemburg in the reign of Edward III; it is the anglicized form of Luxemburg. **Brabant** (c. 1350), a base coin of Flemish manufacture circulated in England in the 13th century; from the name of the Duchy of Brabant.

**Mite** (c. 1350), originally a Flemish coin of very small value, a third of a penny; its first occurrence in English is in a proverbial expression 'not worth a mite', so it must have been known a long time previously before it would pass into the proverbial language; ad. M.Du. *mîte* (MLG. *mîte*, *meite*, *meute*), something very small. **Groat** (1351), though the first mention refers to the English groat coined in 1351-2 and worth fourpence, and the word is used for the Flemish groat first in 1387, the adoption of the Dutch or Flemish form of the word shows that the groat of the Low Countries had circulated here before a coin of that denomination was issued by the English sovereigns; ad.

M.Du. *groot*, properly an elliptical use of the adjective 'great' in the sense 'thick'.

**Seskyn** (1413), a Dutch coin of the value of six mites; ad. M.Du. *seskijn*, from *ses*, six, and *kijn*, the diminutive suffix. **Dodkin** (1415), an early name for the doit, a small Dutch coin; in the 15th century *doydekyn*, *doykin*, ad. M.Du. *duytken*, diminutive of *duyt*, *doyt*.

**Plack** (1473), a coin of the Netherlands of the 15th century; ad. M.Du. *placke*, *plecke*, a small coin of Brabant and Flanders, of varying value. **Guilder** (c. 1481), originally applied to a gold coin current in the Netherlands and parts of Germany, and later to a Dutch silver coin worth 1s. 8d.; an English corrupted pronunciation of Du. *gulden* (see **Gulden**, below). **Rider** (1479, *Cely Papers*), a gold coin having the figure of a horseman on its obverse, formerly current in Flanders and Holland; also a gold coin struck by James V of Scotland, and current also in Scotland in the 15th and 16th centuries; ad. Du. and Flem. *rijder*, horseman.

In the modern period the following names of Low Country coins appear. **Gulden** (15.., *Aberd. Reg.*, 1528), a gold coin, one of the various obsolete gold coins of Germany and the Netherlands; also a silver coin of Holland, the guilder; ad. Du. and LG. *gulden*, strictly an adjective, of gold, golden. **Lubish** (15.., *Aberd. Reg.*, 1563), in the phrases *mark Lubish*, *schilling Lubish*, a denomination belonging to a money of account formerly in extensive commercial use in north Germany; ad. LG. *lücksch*, Du. *lubeksch*, from *Lübeck*, of or belonging to Lübeck, one of the most famous of the Hansa towns of Germany.

**Stiver** (1502), a small coin, originally silver, of the Low Countries; ad. Du. *stuiver*, (M)LG. *stüver*, (whence Da. *styver*, Sw. *styfver*). **Silverling** (1526), a shekel; ad. G. *silberling* or Du. *zilverling*; this is probably a literary borrowing as it is found first in Tindale. **Schelling** (1535), a silver coin,

formerly current in the Low Countries, of the value of six stivers; ad. Du. *schelling*. This word appears also as **Skilling** (1700, S.L. trans. Fryke's *Voy. E. Indies*), ad. Du. *schelling*. **Yokindale** (1536), a silver coin of the 16th century varying in value from 15 to 20 shillings Scots; ad. e.LG. *jochimdaler*, variant *joachimsdaler* (G. *Joachimstaler*), 'the coin of Joachimstal' in Bohemia, the original name of the thaler; they were coined there in 1519 from a silver mine opened in 1516. The modification of this, **Dollar** (1553), appears in English in the 16th century in the forms *daler*, *daller*; ad. LG. and e.mod.Du. *daler* (Du. *daalder*), alongside the full term. A particular kind of dollar is the **Rix-dollar** (1598), a silver coin current from the later part of the 16th century to the middle of the 19th century in Holland, Germany, Sweden, and Austria, in their commerce with the East; ad. older Du. *rijcksdaler* (Kilian), Du. *rijksdaalder*.

**Orkyn** (1542, once) and **Orkey** (1660, Hexham), the fourth part of a stiver; a corruption of Du. *oortken*, diminutive of *oort*, a small coin. **Morkin** (1547), a German coin of small value; ad. M.Du. *moorkijn*, diminutive of *moor*. **Doit** (1594), a small Dutch coin formerly in use, one-eighth of a stiver; ad. e.mod.Du. *duit* (in M.Du. also *duyt*, *deuyt*, *doyt*, *deyt*).

### 3. 15.3. 15.

Finance and money-lending are closely connected with the general practice of trade, and Low Dutch merchants and traders in England seem to have engaged largely in this profitable sideline. Edward III had large dealings with Netherland money-lenders, especially those of Louvain, in order to raise the enormous sums needed for the payment of subsidies to his Low Country allies. After the failure of the great Italian bankers much of their business fell into the hands of the Hansa merchants, who made considerable loans to the English Government, either directly or as agents for their fellow-countrymen in Germany. In 1343, when the King had been granted a tax of 40 shillings a sack on all wool exported, he immediately borrowed the value of it from Tiedemann van Limburg and Johann van Walde, Easterlings. Similarly in 1346 the Hansa merchants lent the King money for three years, holding as security his second crown; they also took the Cornish tin mines at farm. Several Flemings also came to London after the Italian collapse and established themselves as bankers. They were prepared to make a loan to the Government on the security of the taxes, which were about to be levied at an unusual rate; they were not able to prosecute their business for long, as they fell victims to the popular hatred of foreigners which culminated in the reign of Richard II in savage riots against the Flemings in London.

When Elizabeth borrowed to avoid summoning Parliament, she borrowed not only from native merchants, but from the numerous and wealthy Dutch merchants living in London, whose enjoyment both of the 'Intercourse', or favourable conditions of trade established by an old treaty with the Netherlands, and of freedom of conscience, seemed to give the Queen a right to demand loans of substantial amount and without interest. This she declared to be the more justifiable, since the produce of these loans would go in good part to the expenses of

**3. 15.** A.I. 77, 205-6, 208; I.C. II. 130, 148, 159, 324-5; Ch. 93; Ch. Eliz. II. 218.

her troops in the Netherlands. In 1600 a list of 114 Dutch merchants was drawn up from whom the loan of sums from £2,000 downward could be expected. The Goldsmiths also lent her money. Some of them were English, while others were resident aliens who were getting ever more and more control of this business. In 1622 the Goldsmiths' Company complained that there were no fewer than 184 aliens engaged in their business of banking. One of these merchant strangers, Gerard Malynes, who wrote many pamphlets on financial subjects, has given us a full description of the methods of continental bankers before 1600, and even if the system was not so fully developed in London at the time, there is reason to believe that it did not lag far behind. After the failure of Alva's administration Antwerp declined rapidly and London came to be more and more an important monetary and trading centre. At this time Erasmus Vanderpere brought out a proposal for the establishment of a bank of money in London.



During the early years of Elizabeth's reign there was a great recoinage of the debased silver, and the chief refiner employed was Daniel Wolstat of Antwerp, who was engaged by Sir Thomas Gresham on the understanding that he would receive five per cent. of the value of the reissued coinage.

Under the Stuarts London was a growing commercial centre which was becoming once more a resort for merchants from continental towns. There were considerable opportunities for the remunerative employment of capital, and large sums belonging to moneyed men in Amsterdam and other Netherland towns were transmitted to England for investment. It was stated before the Commission on Trade in 1669 that a great part of the money employed in rebuilding London after the Great Fire was Dutch. A large part of the capital of the Bank of England came from the same source. These wealthy Netherlanders not only sent their money, but frequently came to settle themselves and, judging by the number of applications for naturalization, continued to flourish in the reigns of James I and Charles I.

The traditional system of taxation had proved inadequate under Charles I, and so the Parliamentary army and the government of the Commonwealth were financed on new principles and on methods borrowed from the practice of the Dutch. It was in national finance that the policy of imitating the

Dutch was most observable, and it is at least tempting to connect this important fact with the existence of a class of wealthy men of alien extraction who were in close business relations with persons in authority.

**Pawn** (for the Sc. form *pand*, first recorded in a non-Eng. context in a Charter of David I, c. 1145), a pledge, surety; *pawn* is ad. OF. *pan*, rarely *pand*, *pant*, pledge, security, apparently the same word as M.Du. *pant*, *pand* (Du. *pand*); O.E.D. says that the Sc. form *pand* came in probably from Du., LG., or Flem.

**Makrelty** (1495), brokerage; a metathetic alteration of M.Du. *makelardie*, from *makelare*, broker.

**Mackelar** (1682, once), a broker; a later and independent borrowing, ad. Du. *makelaar*, from *mackelen*, to negotiate. **Mackeleredge** (1682, once), brokerage; ad. Du. *makelarij*, from *makelaar*.

**Mackle** (1724, Bailey), ad. Du. *makelen*, to offer for sale; it is doubtful whether this word had currency, as there is no quotation except in Bailey, where it is glossed, 'to sell weavers' goods to shopkeepers'. Bailey has also **Mackler**, a seller of such goods; from the preceding.

**Ledger** (1481), a book that lies permanently in some place; the sense represents Du. *ligger* and *legger*, from *leggen*, to lie; the Eng. forms *ledger*, *lidger* cannot be direct adoptions of the Du. word, but may be formations on Eng. *liggen*, *leggen*, dialect forms of the verbs, *lie* and *lay*, and -*er* in imitation of these; the word was restricted later to commercial books.

**Wissel** (1482, *Cely Papers*), exchange; (1721), change for an amount of money; esp. in the phrase, 'to get the wissel of one's groat', fig. to be paid out; ad. MLG. *wissele*, *wessele*, (M.)Du. *wissel*. The vb. is earlier, **Wissel** (1375, Barbour), to exchange for something else; (1483), to change money; ad. MLG. (M.Du.) *wisselen*, *wesselen*, *weslen*, to change. **Wisseler** (1481, *Cely Papers*), a money-changer, also a retailer; from the vb. *wissel* and -*er*, ad. or after MLG., M.Du. *wisselere*, *wesselere*, *weslere*. **Wisseling** vbl. sb. (c. 1375, from Sc.), exchange; is from the vb., but compare M.Du. *wisselinghe*.

**Lombard** (1609), in the sense, shop, or place of business of a 'Lombard' or banker, a bank, money-lender's or money-changer's office, a pawnshop; OF. *lombard*, in the sense banker, money-lender, passed into Low Dutch as MLG. *lombard*, M.Du. *lombaert*, and the sense bank, pawnbroker's shop was probably

developed in Low Dutch, and seems to have been adopted thence into English.

**Bottomry** (sb. 1622, vb. 1755), to pledge a ship as security for money lent; in the 17th century *bottomarie*, *bodomery* after Du. *bodemerij*, in the same sense. Derivatives are **Bottomage** (1678)

and **Bottomrer** (1682). A variant is **Bummery** (1663), ad. Du. *bommerije* (Hexham), *bodmerij*; *bommerije* is given by Plantijn in the sense 'finance'.

**Cantore** (1673), office, banking-house; ad. Du. *kantoor*, ad. F. *comptoir*. **Burse** (1553), name for an 'Exchange'; it arose in Bruges, and in the 16th century was used in London for what is now called the 'Royal Exchange' (built in 1566), and in Britain's Burse for the New Exchange in the Strand (built in 1609); one of the variants of M.Du. *borse* was *burse* (Bense).

A few terms of commercial dishonesty and swindling were borrowed in the 18th century, and they are perhaps best included among the terms of finance. **Fineer** (1758-65, once), a method of running into debt by getting goods made up so that they will be of no use to other customers, and then threatening to leave them on the seller's hands, when made up; apparently ad. Du. *finieren*, *fijneren*, to collect money or riches, ad. OF. *finer*. **Swindler** (1775), originally a cant word said to have been introduced into London by German Jews about 1762, and to have been used in literature first by Lord Mansfield; ad. G. *schwindler* or Du. *zwendelaar*, an extravagant projector, esp. in money matters, a cheat, from *schwindeln*, to be giddy, swindle. The vb. is later, **Swindle** (1797), and is from the sb. *swindler*.

## Chapter IV

### Intercourse between English and Low Dutch on the Sea

#### 4. 1.4. 1.

ENGLISH and Low Dutch intercourse on the sea has been continuous since the beginning of the Middle English period, and so important and influential has it been that many nautical terms have been borrowed from Low Dutch into the English vocabulary.

This intercourse can be best considered under three heads: (1) The meeting of the two races through trade; this embraces the visits of English ships to Low Dutch ports, the visits of Low Dutch ships to English ports, the meeting of the sailors of both nationalities in other ports to which they both traded, and the freighting trade or the carrying of English merchandise in Low Dutch vessels. The evidence for this is given fully in Chapter III and only a little needs to be added concerning Dutch shipping in the 17th and 18th centuries. (2) The intercourse on the various fishing grounds and in the whale fisheries; the evidence for this will be found in Chapters V and VI. (3) The naval intercourse in the numerous wars and naval fights between the two peoples.

In Chapter III it has been shown how close and continuous was the mercantile contact at sea between English and Low Dutch up to the end of the 16th century, and this contact was maintained during the 17th and 18th centuries. The cause of Dutch prosperity in the 17th century was their great carrying trade. In 1609 they possessed 12,000 ships, more than three times as many as England had at that time; at the time of the First Dutch War England was still dependent upon Dutch commerce, which had made itself master of nearly all the carrying trade of northern and western Europe, so that even the trade between England and France went on largely in Dutch bottoms. The Navigation Act was aimed at this Dutch supremacy in the carrying trade, but though it hindered in certain ways, it by no means ruined the trade, and after the Second Dutch War the Act had to be modified by the stipulation that goods from Germany and the southern Netherlands might henceforth be imported in Dutch vessels. Nevertheless, by the

4. 1. Blok, III. 323; IV. 190, 338, 518-20; v. 65.

end of the 17th century the working of the Act had put practically all the native English import and export trade into English hands, while England had gained a monopoly of trade with its American colonies; spices alone, being a Dutch monopoly, were imported through connivance in Dutch ships. The English maintained their cloth and wool staple at Dordrecht, and also exported to Amsterdam much lead, tin, and corn, beside English colonial goods; the Scots retained their

staple at Veere and brought there coal, wool, and hides. The Dutch could not change this, for their situation compelled them to keep on friendly terms with the English who dominated the Channel. Their exports to England in those years were three times less than their imports from England, but considerable smuggling must be taken into account. The Dutch shared the Spanish and Levant trades with England alone.

From the beginning of the 18th century there was a general rise in England's economic and commercial life which could only redound to the disadvantage of the Dutch. Everywhere the Dutch merchant encountered the English merchant, and slowly but surely saw him obtain the upper hand. A powerful navy, greater than that of any other nation, protected English interests all over the world. Nevertheless, about 1740, after the Treaty of Utrecht, Holland still ranked with England as a commercial power, and for at least half a century longer Amsterdam was a world warehouse. Dutch commerce, however, had passed its highest point, and soon we actually find English architects and engineers called in to help in the building of a Dutch warship.

#### 4. 2.4. 2.

Though there were few naval battles between English and Low Dutch in the Middle Ages, conflicts at sea were numerous enough, but consisted almost entirely of isolated but persistent acts of piracy and privateering. Two naval battles with Flemings in the Hundred Years War, however, deserve some mention. The English, under Sir Guy Brian, met the Flemings under John Peterson at the Island of Bar off the coast of Brittany, and gained a complete victory. Then in 1386 the Flemish captain, Pieter van den Bossche, who had entered the English service, intercepted the Flemish fleet from La Rochelle to Sluys, drove it into Cadzand and captured many ships. The English

4. 2. Blok, III. 50, 61-3, 245, 259; IV. 157, 187, 190-208, 317-37, 378-418, 481-5; V. 15-17, 196-200; Ch. Eliz. II. 54, 428; Bense, A.D.R. 82, 86.

remained at Sluys and burned Terneuzen and other places on the coast.

The next period of naval contact was during the Dutch struggle for independence against Spain. The insurgents had a naval force, the Beggars of the Sea, and under Alva's administration they made the North Sea insecure for the Spaniards, and occasionally raided the sea-side villages, churches, and cloisters, selling their booty in England, East Friesland, Bremen, and Hamburg. Spanish protests to England were unavailing, for the English ports reaped too much profit out of the Beggars to drive them away. When the Beggars were defeated by Admiral Boshuizen, their thinned ranks were soon reinforced from England, and the raids and piracies began anew. A fleet of fifty sail took Briel in 1572, and when Flushing opened its gates to the Beggars in the same year, English companies helped to garrison it. Holland was greatly alarmed at the Armada and collected craft to help England. Twenty ships were to be placed under Cornelis Loncq as an adjunct to the English fleet at Dover, and after the engagement at Gravelines the Dutch under Van der Does sank a few galleons which had drifted on to the Flemish coast and compelled a few more to surrender. Later the English and Dutch navies combined to attack Spain. There was a Dutch contingent of 18 ships under Van Duivenvoorde in the Cadiz Expedition of 1595, and one of 10 ships under the same admiral in the Islands' Voyage of 1598.

The second half of the 17th century was the period of the great trial of strength at sea between the English and the Dutch, and three naval wars were fought out, all characterized by the most desperate fighting and sharp fluctuations of fortune.

In the Civil War the Royalist fleet took shelter from the Parliamentary fleet in the harbours of the Maas and from there preyed on English commerce in the Channel; in retaliation English warships began about 1650 to annoy Dutch merchantmen with search of their cargo on the pretext of acting against Royalist piracy. A greater cause of hostility, however, was the harbouring of Royalist refugees in Holland. It was obvious that the English wanted war. Their fleet had been greatly

improved under excellent commanders such as Blake and Penn, while the English ships were larger and better manned than the Dutch.

Hostilities commenced with an irregular fight off Dover between Blake and Van Tromp. In 1652 open war was declared, and the year was marked by a number of severe actions. Ayscue destroyed a fleet of Dutch merchantmen off Calais; Blake fell upon the fishing fleet off the Orkneys and captured the Dutch warships protecting it; Van Tromp blockaded Ayscue in the Downs, but had his fleet shattered by a storm; De Ruyter repulsed Ayscue's attack on a convoy near Plymouth; De Witt was beaten by Blake in the Downs, who in turn was severely defeated by Van Tromp off Dungeness.

In 1653 Blake attacked Van Tromp whilst he was convoying merchantmen up the Channel, and after a three days' running fight the Dutch were worsted, but Van Tromp's magnificent tactics saved the fleet. Another battle was fought off Nieuwpoort, when Van Tromp, De Ruyter, and De Witt were driven to take cover behind the shoals with heavy losses. The English now blockaded the whole Dutch coast, and Van Tromp was killed in a fight off Ter Herde; but the Dutch so damaged the English fleet that the blockade had to be given up. Peace was made in 1654. Immediately after Cromwell's death the fleet had been much neglected, but it was notably improved after the Restoration under the direction of the Duke of York and the administration of such men as Pepys. There was still much hostility to the Dutch, and a certain amount of desultory fighting, directed mostly against enemy commerce, had taken place before the actual declaration of war in March 1665. The first notable engagement of the war was the bloody battle off Lowestoft, in which the Dutch were beaten. In the next year a great Dutch fleet under De Ruyter and Cornelis attacked Monk off the North Foreland, and in the murderous four days' fight which followed Monk's fleet was reduced to 28 vessels, but he executed a masterly retreat. Prince Rupert reinforced Monk up to 60 ships and a fresh attack was made; the English fleet would have been annihilated but that a dense fog came down, stopping the pursuit, so that only 6 ships were captured. Two months later, however, De Ruyter was beaten, and the English gained command of the sea. Holmes pushed into the Vlie and burned 2 convoy ships and 140 merchantmen; next day he landed at Terschelling and a large part of the island was pillaged and laid waste.

In 1667 an expedition against the Thames was prepared in deep secrecy, and a fleet of 80 ships under De Ruyter pushed into the Medway and landed troops under the English mercenary, Colonel Dolman, who captured Sheerness and destroyed the fort and naval stores. The chain guarding the Medway was broken, the English batteries silenced, and the *Royal Charles* and other ships captured and destroyed, but Chatham was too strongly fortified to be taken. Progress up the Thames was barred and the vigorous English defence forced the Dutch back after four days of fighting. These last hostilities really took place after peace had been concluded.

The Third Dutch War was declared in 1670, and it arose out of the secret treaty by which Charles II supported France against the States. The first battle was the indecisive action of Solebay, in which both sides suffered severely, but the main honours went to the Dutch. In 1673 an Anglo-French fleet of 150 sail were beaten by De Ruyter at Schooneveld, and in the same year the Anglo-French were again beaten off Kijkduin, largely through the treachery of the French. Disgust with the French brought about peace in 1674.

The Dutch navy acted in co-operation with the English in William III's struggle against France, and always under the command of an English admiral. When Tourville defeated the Anglo-Dutch fleet under Torrington off Beachy Head, the Dutch were especially damaged and complained that the English had left them in the lurch, and subsequent investigation proved that Torrington was guilty and he was disgraced. In 1692 a powerful Anglo-Dutch fleet under Russel defeated Tourville off La Hogue, and half the French fleet was destroyed. Tourville had his revenge when he inflicted very heavy losses on an Anglo-Dutch convoy off Lagos.

In the War of the Spanish Succession the Dutch and English fleets again co-operated. A Dutch fleet of 40 sail under Van Almonde and an English fleet of like strength under Rooke and

Ormonde unsuccessfully attacked Cadiz, but had a splendid victory in Vigo Bay over the French and Spanish fleets, and part of the West Indian silver fleet fell into their hands. In 1704 the combined English and Dutch under Rooke and Callenburgh captured Gibraltar, but an English garrison only was left in the fortress.

In the Fourth Dutch War there was an indecisive action at

the Dogger Bank between Parker, convoying 200 merchantmen with 7 ships, and Zoutman with a like number, convoying 70 ships. Dutch commerce suffered most severely in this war from English privateers; in the first month of the war alone 200 Dutch merchantmen were captured.

#### 4. 3.4. 3.

A certain amount of intercourse can be proved in shipbuilding, and a few nautical terms perhaps entered the English vocabulary through this channel. It does not seem that the large ships of the time of Henry V were all English built, for it is stated as a grievance in 1442 that Englishmen were prevented from buying or building ships in Prussia and the Hanse towns. During the 15th century endeavours to improve ship-building were being made in many countries, and it is at this time that the large herring-busses were built by the Dutch and that they first appeared in English waters. They were an example for English builders, and we soon find large ships capable of holding 200 passengers being built here.

In one subsidiary branch of ship-building help was obtained from Holland in the 17th century. Among the reforms which the Duke of Buckingham instituted while Lord High Admiral was the encouragement of the Dutch to settle here and establish the manufacture of great cables and other sorts of cordage for the navy; for this purpose he provided hemp and other materials, and put up houses and yards at Chatham and elsewhere.

4. 3.I.C. i. 413; A.I. 216.

#### 4. 4.

A number of names of various kinds of ships and boats entered Middle English from Low Dutch.

**Shout** (13.., *Coer de Lion*), a flat-bottomed boat; ME. *schoute*, *shute* is probably from M.Du. *schûte*, with the initial *sk-* sound assimilated to *sh-*. A later form of the same word but preserving the original initial sound of M.Du. is **Scout** (1419), a flat-bottomed boat, 'a Dutch vessel', galliot rigged, used in the river trade of Holland (Smyth, *Sailor's Wordbook*); ad. M.Du. *schûte*; a 'boat called skoute', apparently Flemish, is mentioned in the Close Rolls, 20 Edw. II.

**Keel** (1421, *keeler*, however, as early as 1322), a flat-bottomed vessel, especially of the kind used on the Tyne and Wear for the loading of colliers, a lighter; the name is or has been in local use on the east coast of England from the Tyne to the Norfolk Broads; apparently ad. M.Du. *kiel* (MLG. *kêl*), ship, boat. **Pram, Praam** (1390-1 in the L. context of *E. Derby's Exped.*, in an

Eng. context not till 1634), a flat-bottomed boat, a lighter used especially in the Baltic and Netherlands for shipping cargo; ad. M.Du. *praem*, *prame* (Du. *praam*), or MLG. and LG. *prâm*, *prame*.

**Pink** (1471), a sailing-vessel, originally one of small size used for coasting and fishing; apparently ad. M.Du. *pincke*, *pinke*, the name of a small sea-going ship, also a fishing-boat (in Kilian *pinck*, Du. *pink*, MLG. and LG. *pinke*). A compound is **Sword-pink** (1616), a pink provided with lee-boards; from Du. *zwaard* (Kilian, *sweerd*), a lee-board.

**Lighter** (1487), a boat, usually a flat-bottomed barge used in unloading ships; ad. Du. *lichter*, of equivalent formation to the possible Eng. origin from vb. *light* and *-er*. **Hoy** (1495, *Paston Letters*), a small vessel, usually rigged as a sloop and employed in carrying passengers and goods,

especially short distances on the sea-coast; apparently ad. M.Du. *hoei*, plural *hoeyen*, variant of *hoede*, *heude* (Du. *heu*, older Du. *heude*).

Many names of ships and boats are borrowed in the 16th and 17th centuries. **Yacht** (1557), a light fast-sailing ship; ad. e.mod.Du. *jaght(e)* (now *jacht*), used for *jaght-schip*, lit. ship for chasing, light sailing-vessel, fast, piratical ship, from *jag(h)t*, hunting, chase; owing to the presence in the Du. word of the unfamiliar spirant denoted by *g(h)*, the English spellings have been various and erratic, and how far they represent differences of pronunciation it is difficult to say. **Fly-boat** (1577), a fast-sailing vessel used chiefly in the 16th and 17th centuries; 16th-century *fliebote*, *fleeboate*, *flibote*, ad. Du. *vlieboot*, originally denoting one of the small boats used on the Vlie or channel leading out of the Zuyder Zee, afterwards applied in ridicule to the small vessels used against the Spaniards by the Beggars of the Sea; in English the word was very early associated with the vb. *to fly*.

**Crumster**, **Cromster** (1596), a kind of galley or hoy; from Du. *krom*, crooked (cf. Du. *kromsteve*, 'genus navis', Kilian, from *krom* and *steve*, prow). **Drumbler**, **Drumler** (1598), a name in the 17th century for a small, fast ship used as a transport, also a piratical ship of war; ad. e.mod.Du. *drommeler*, a kind of ship (Kilian), perhaps a perversion of the foreign term *dromon*, *dromond*, after a native word.

**Smack** (1611), a single-masted sailing-vessel, fore and aft rigged like a sloop or cutter and usually of light burden, used chiefly for coasting or fishing, and formerly as a tender to a ship

of war; probably ad. Du. *smak*, e.mod.Du. *smacke* (Kilian) (LG. *smakke*, *smak*). **Boyer** (a. 1618), a sloop of Flemish construction with a raised work at each end; from Du. *boeijer* (LG. *bojer*).

**Sloop** (1629), a small one-masted fore and aft rigged vessel, differing from a cutter in having a jibstay and standing bowsprit; ad. Du. *sloep* (Fris. and LG. *slûp*, e.mod.Du. *sloepe*, LG. *slupe*); the history of the Du. and LG. word is obscure, but it appears more probable that it is an adoption of F. *chaloupe* or Sp. *chalupa*, than that it is the source of these.

**Pont** (1631), a large, flat boat or transport, pontoon; ad. Du. *pont(e)*. **Bilander** (1656), a two-masted merchant vessel, used in the Low Countries for coast, river, and canal traffic; the name is probably a corruption of *binlander*, from *binnenlander*, short for *binnenlandsvaarder*, a vessel used for inland navigation; in west Flanders *billander* was sometimes considered to stand for *blander*, hence the notion that it should mean *bijlander*, a vessel which sails near the land; the form *belander* also occurs in the Netherlands (Bense). **Bezan** (1662, once in *Pepys's Diary*), a small yacht, apparently one fitted with a mizen-sail; ad. Du. *bezaan*, mizen-sail.

**Bumboat** (1671), a scavenger's boat used to remove filth from ships lying in the Thames; a boat employed to carry provisions, vegetables, and small merchandise for sale to ships in port; O.E.D. gives an Eng. origin from *bum*, the posteriors, these dirt boats being also used to bring vegetables for sale; Bense, however, finds a Low Dutch origin, from LG. *bumboot*, 'ein breites Schifferboot, womit im Hafen Lebensmittel an die Schiffe gerudert werden' (Bergh.) (LG. *boomschip*, 'ein Trog oder Schiffelein, so aus dem Stamme eines Baums gehauen ist', Kilian has *boomschip*, Du. *bomschuit*); according to this derivation provision boat would be the original and proper sense, and dirt boat a name given in mistake and contempt.

**Yawl** (1670), a ship's boat resembling a pinnace; (1684), a small sailing-boat of the cutter class; apparently ad. MLG. *jolle* (LG. *jolle*, *jölle*, *jelle*) or Du. *jol* (17th century), explained by Sewel (1708) as a 'Jutland boat', whence diminutive *jolleken* (Hexham, 1660). **Snow** (1676), a small sailing-vessel resembling a brig, carrying a main and fore mast and a supplementary trysail mast, formerly employed as a warship; in the 17th century *snaw*, ad. Du. *snauw*, *snaauw*, or LG. *snau* (whence Da. and Sw. *snau*).

**Schooner** (1716), the word seems to have originated in Massachusetts about 1713, and despite the spelling, which may have been due to association with Dutch words having initial *sch*-, the



word is English, and passed from English into most European languages, as Du. *schooner*, *schoener*, F. *schooner*, &c.

**Yanky** (1760-1, Smollett; 1904, P. Fountain, *Gt. Nth. West*, 'a Yanki is a small kind of galiot, and the Dutch fur-traders used craft of this kind to ascend the rivers in search of their Indian customers'), a word of doubtful status, origin, and meaning; perhaps Du. *Janke* applied originally to a particular ship and so possibly identical with *Yankee*.

**Kof** (1794), a clumsy sailing-vessel with two masts used by the Dutch, Germans, and Danes; ad. Du. *kof*. **Billy-boy** (1855, Smyth, *Sailor's Wordbook*), explained by Smyth as 'a Humber or sea-coast boat of river-barge build and a trysail, a bluff-bowed North Country trader or large one-masted vessel of burden'; he derives *boy* from Du. *boeier*, a sloop of Flemish construction (see **Boyer**). **Tjalk** (1889), a kind of Dutch ship or sailing-boat; from Du. and LG. *tjalk*, a kind of ship, ad. West Fris. *tsjalk*.

#### 4. 5.

There is a large group of terms for the rigging, spars, and tackle of a ship. In Middle English the following appeared: **Tackle** (c. 1250), apparatus, equipment in general; (a. 1300), the rigging of a ship, also gear; apparently of Low Dutch origin, and probably ad. MLG. *takel*, equipment generally, esp. of a horseman, specially of a ship, hoisting apparatus (LG. *takel*, e.mod.Du. *takel*, strong rope, hawser, pulley). The vb. **Tackle** (c. 1400), to furnish a ship with tackle, and **Tackling** (c. 1422), the furnishing, rigging, gear, are both from the sb.

**Mike** (13.., *E.E. Allit. P.*), probably a 'crutch' or forked support on which a boom rests when lowered; perhaps ad. M.Du. *micke* (Du. *mik*).

**Bowline** (c. 13..), a rope passing from about the middle of the perpendicular edge of the weather side of the square sails to the larboard or starboard bow for the purpose of keeping the edge of the sail steady when sailing on a wind; it is improbable that this is a comb. of Eng. *bow* and *line*, for *bow* is of much later appearance in Eng. (see **Bow**); Bense suggests MLG. *bôchline* as its origin. **Bowsprit** (c. 1330), a large boom or spar which projects over the stem of a ship to carry sail forward; the numerous forms *bowsprit* takes in Eng. and the late

appearance of *bow* in Eng. make a comb. of *bow* and *sprit* (OE. *sprēōt*), very unlikely, if not impossible, and 'the origin seems to lie between LG., Du., and English' (O.E.D.); it is perhaps from MLG. *bôchsprêt* (LG. *boogspreet*, *-spriit*, e.mod. Du. *boechspret*, Du. *boegspriet*).

**Trice** (1357-8), a pulley or windlass; ad. M.Du. *trise*, *trijs* (Du. *trijs*), windlass, pulley, hoisting-block (MLG. *trisse*, *tritse*, tackle, hoisting-rope). The vb. appears some thirty years later, **Trice** (c. 1386), to pull, pluck, snatch, and specially, to pull or haul with a rope; ad. M.Du. *trisen* (Du. *trijsen*), to hoist (MLG. *trissen*, *tritsen*). **Wind** (1399), an apparatus for winding, a winch or windlass; this is partly ad. M.Du. and MLG. *winde*, windlass, partly a direct formation on the vb. *to wind*.

**Marline** (1485, *Naval Acc. Hen. VII*), a small line of two strands used for seizings; perhaps two synonymous words have been confused, *marline*, ad. Du. *marlijn* (from *marren*, to bind, and *lijn*, line) and *marling*, perhaps ad. Du. *marling*, vbl. sb. from *marlen*, to marl; the two words seem to have been confused already in Du.; compare MLG. *merlink*, *marlink*, which have given Sw. and Da. *merling*.

**Mers** (1494, from Sc.), a round-top surrounding the lower masthead; also attrib. in *mers clothes*, streamers and hangings suspended from the mers; ad. M.Du. *merse*, 'top' of a mast, literally, a basket. **Ra** (1494, from Sc.), a sailyard; ON. *rá*, Du. *ra* (Kilian, *rae*, *rah*, *rha*), MLG. *râ*; in Sc. the word can be from any one of these three, but a Low Dutch origin is the more probable, as the late

appearance of the word counts against an ON. origin. **Smite** (1494), a rope attached to one of the lower corners of a sail; ad. M.Du. *smiete* or MLG. *smîte* (Du. *smijt*, LG. *smîte*).

The following words appear in the modern period. **Nock** (1513, from Sc.), the tip or extremity of a yard-arm; (1794), in sails, the foremost upper corner; ad. the synonymous Du. and Flem. and Fris. *nok* or LG. *nokk* (whence also G. and Sw. *nock*, Da. *nok*); these words also occur in other special senses denoting a projecting tip or point of some kind.

**Boom**, sb. (1662), a long spar run out from different places in a ship to extend or boom out the foot of a particular sail; (c. 1645), a bar or barrier consisting of a strong chain or line of connected spars, &c., stretched across a river or the mouth of a harbour to obstruct navigation; ad. Du. *boom*, tree, beam, pole.

**Boom**, vb. (1627), in the sense, 'to boom out', to extend the foot of a sail with a boom, is from the sb.; in the sense, 'to boom off', to push a vessel off with a pole, it is apparently directly from Du. *boomen*, 'to push off with a pole', as the sb. appears not to be used in this sense. **Bomespar** (1660), a spar of a larger kind; ad. Du. *boomspar*. **Bumkin, Bumpkin** (1632), a short boom projecting from each bow of a ship; probably an Eng. adaptation of the Flem. diminutive *boomken*; in Holland the diminutive is *boompje*. **Bolm** (1513, from Sc.), is a Sc. variant of boom, from Du. and Flem. *boom*.

**Cringle** (1627), a ring or eye of rope containing a thimble worked into the bolt-rope of a sail for the attachment of a rope; apparently of LG. origin; cf. G. (mostly LG.) and Mid.G. *kringel*, MLG. and LG. *krengel*, diminutive of *kring*, circle, ring. **Slabline** (1647), a small cord passing up behind a ship's foresail or mainsail, used for trussing the sail; probably ad. Du. *slaplijn*, from slap, slack.

**Kink**, sb. (1678), a small twist or curl in a rope at which it is bent upon itself; probably ad. Du. *kink*, twist, twirl. The vb. is later, **Kink** (1697), and is probably ad. Du. *kinken* (Hexham), from *kink*.

**Span** (1769), one or other of various ropes or chains used as fastenings or means of connexion; ad. Du. or LG. *span* (also M.Du. and MLG.) from *spannen*, to unite, fasten. **Crance** (1846), a kind of iron cup on the outer end of a bowsprit; perhaps from Du. *krans*, wreath, garland. **Hamber-line** (1853), a small line used for seizings, lashings, &c.; a corruption of Hamburg.

#### 4. 6.

There is a group of terms for the various parts and timbers of a ship's hull and decks. **Deck** (1513), in the nautical sense of a platform extending from side to side of a ship; the primary notion was 'covering' or 'roof' rather than 'floor'; the word is earlier (1466) in the general sense of a covering; apparently of Low Dutch origin; probably ad. M.Du. *dec*, roof, covering, cloak, but in the nautical sense it is not known in Du. before 1675-81, when *dek* appears as a synonym of *verdek*, quoted in the nautical sense in 1640, but recorded by Kilian (1599) in the general sense only; thus *deck* in the nautical sense appears in English over a century and a half earlier than in Du.; it may be simply a specific application of the general sense, covering, or it may come more immediately from the M.Du. sense 'roof'. **Orlop** (1467), originally the single floor or deck with which the

hull of a ship was covered, and then the lowest deck of a ship; ad. Du. *overloop*, covering, 'ouerloop vant schip' (Kilian, 1599), from *overloopen*, to run over.

**Gripe** (1580), the piece of timber terminating the keel at the former extremity; originally *greepe*, ad. Du. *greep*, but afterwards assimilated to the sb. *gripe*. **Skeg** (1625), in ship-building, a knee which braces and unites the sternpost, the keel of a boat; perhaps directly from the Du. *scheg*, *schegge*, which reproduce the Scand. *skegg*, a beard.

**Bow** (1626), the rounded forepart of a ship; the cognate OE. *bóg*, *bóh*, shoulder, upper arm, and bough of a tree, has survived only in the latter sense and form, while Eng. *bow* (of a ship) corresponds in form and sense to LG. *bûg*, Du. *boeg*, Da. *boug*, *bov*, Sw. *bog*, all in the senses: shoulder of a man or beast, and bow of a ship; O.E.D. says that the word must have been



adopted from LG., Du., or Da.; unless it is the Da. *bov*, it must have been adopted from Low Dutch at a much earlier date than the 17th century, and may be from M.Du. *boech*, *boegh*, bow of a ship, and shoulder of an animal.

**Garboard** (1626), the first range of planks laid upon a ship's bottom next to the keel; apparently ad. Du. *gaarboord*, explained by Winschooten (1681) as from *garen*, short for *gaderen*, to gather, and *boord*, board.

**Caboose** (1769), the cook-room of merchantmen on deck, a diminutive substitute for the galley of a man-of-war; identical with Du. *kabuis*, *kombuis*, e.mod.Du. *combûse*, *cabûse*, MLG. *kabhûse*, also F. *cambuse*; the original language was perhaps LG., but the history and etymology of the word are quite obscure.

**Taffrail, Tafrail** (1814), the aftermost portion of the poop-rail of a ship; a 19th-century alteration of *taffereel* due to false etymology, the termination *-reel* being taken as *rail*. **Tafferel** (1704), the upper part of the flat portion of a ship's stem above the transom, usually ornamented with carvings, in later times including, and now applied to, the aftermost portion of the poop-rail; ad. Du. (also M.Du.) *tafereel*, panel, picture, diminutive of *tafel*; the same word as **Tafferel**, a panel.

#### 4. 7.

The following are the names of articles of gear or apparatus used on board ship. **Shaltree** (1307-8), a pole, perhaps a pole used for propelling vessels; a partial translation of MLG. *schaldbôm*, a pole used as an oar or rudder, from *schalden*, to

push, and *bôm*. This word was also adopted as **Sheltbeam** (1336, in Nicholas, *Hist. Roy. Navy*), again a partial translation with Eng. *beam* substituted for *bôm*.

Names for both types, primitive and mechanical, of apparatus for clearing a boat or ship of water were borrowed from Low Dutch. **Scoop** (c. 1330), baler; (1487, *Naval Acc. Hen. VII*), a kind of shovel for dipping out and carrying loose material; the word is apparently of twofold origin, from MLG. *schôpe* or M.Du. *schôpe*, *schoepe*, a vessel for drawing or baling out water, bucket of water-wheel, and from M.Du. *schoppe* (MLG. *schuppe*), shovel; the two words, etymologically quite distinct, have through this close resemblance in form and sense been to some extent confused in Low Dutch; F. borrowed *écoppe* in both senses, but the word is recorded a century earlier in Eng. than in French. **Pump** (c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.*), a mechanical device to raise water by suction, from early times used on board ship to remove bilge water; the 15th-century form is *pumpe*, *pompe*, and corresponds to e.mod.Du. *pompe*, Du. *pomp*, LG. *pumpe*, *pump*; the word is as yet first known in England in the sense of ship's pump, in which use it is quite common from 1450 to 1500, but in Low Dutch it is not recorded in this sense before the 16th century (in Du. c. 1556, in LG. c. 1550; Plantijn, 1573, has it only in the sense bilge; but Kilian, 1599, has it for ship's pump and pump generally); in Du. dialects *pompe* is found before 1463 in the sense of a pipe or tube of wood or metal, or a stone conduit for the conveyance of water underground, a sense also found in Fris. and some LG. dialects; in view of these dates and the various senses it is not easy to come to a conclusion as to the language in which the word arose; if the primary sense was that of 'tube, pipe', the probability is that the word is of Low Dutch origin; if, however, it is an echoic formation from the sound of the plunger striking the water, then it can have arisen equally in Eng. or Low Dutch; in either case it was probably in nautical use first.

**Speke** (1366), a handspike; (a. 1400), a wheel-spoke; ad. M.Du. or MLG. *spēke*, spoke. **Scote** (1394, from Devon), perhaps a kind of cable; perhaps from M.Du. *schoot*, 'sheet', rope, whence OF. *escoute*. Another form of the same word is **Shoot** (1495, *Naval Acc. Hen. VII*), ad. MLG. *schote* or M.Du. *schoot* (whence also West Fris. *scoat*, Sw. *skot*). **Wrakling** (1494, from Sc.), a large make of nail, esp. used in ship-building; ad. MLG. *wrakelinge*,

M.Du. *wrakelinc* (whence also Fris. *wrakling*, plank-nail, Da. dial. *vraekling*).

**Plicht-anker** (1508, from Sc.), the main anchor of a ship; ad. LG. *plichtanker* or Du. *plechtanker*; the Du. and LG. word is usually referred to MLG. *plicht*, M.Du. *plecht*, a small fore- or after-deck of an open boat, but Doornk.-Koolm. prefers derivation from *plicht*, responsibility (O.E.D.).

**Dale** (1611), a wooden tube or trough for carrying off water, as from a ship's pump; the word corresponds in this sense to Du. and LG. *daal*, also to F. *dalle*, and may be from Low Dutch.

**Handspike** (1615, E.S., *Britain's Buss*), a wooden bar used as a lever or crow especially on board ship and in artillery service; ad. e.mod.Du. *handspaecke*, Du. *handspaak*, in the same sense, from *spaak*, M.Du. *spake*, pole, rod; in Eng. apparently assimilated to the sb. *spike*. **Marline-spike**, **Marlinspike** (1626), an iron tool tapering to a point used to separate the strands of rope in splicing, as a lever in marling, &c.; originally apparently marling-spike, from the vbl. sb. *marling* and *spike* (see **Marl** and **Marling**); the first element was subsequently interpreted as marline.

**Plug** (1627), a piece of wood, &c., to stop up a hole; apparently ad. M.Du. and e.mod.Du. *plugge*, plug, bung (MLG., LG. *plugge*, *plügge*, LG. *plüg*, Sw. *plugg*, Da. *plög*). The vb. **Plug** (1630) is from the sb. or immediately ad. e.mod.Du. *pluggen*, from *plugge* (MLG. *pluggen*, LG. *plüggen*).

**Wince** (1688), winch; is a variant of winch, but perhaps influenced by LG. *win(n)s*, a small capstan, Du. *wins*, winch.

#### 4. 8.

A few names for sailors have been borrowed. **Keeler** (1322, once in *Tynemouth Chartulary*), a keelman; from *keel*, which, however, is much later, and *-er* (see **Keel**). **Skipper** (1390, in the non-Eng. context of *E. Derby's Exped.*, 1496 in Eng. context), the captain or master of a ship, esp. of a small trading, fishing, or merchant vessel; in the 15th and 16th centuries chiefly in Sc. use; ad. M.Du. or MLG. *schipper*, from *schip*, ship. **Shipper** (1496), now obsolete in the sense of skipper; represents MLG. and M.Du. *schipper*, with the initial *sk-* sound assimilated to Eng. *sh-*.

**Swabber** (1592), one of a crew whose business it was to swab the decks, a petty officer who had charge of the cleaning of the decks; ad. e.mod.Du. *zwabber*, from *zwabben*, to swab, clean (cf. LG. *swabber*, a mop). **Skeeman** (1820), the officer who has direction

of the operations conducted in the hold; ad. Du. *schiemman*, boatswain's mate, formerly also *schimman*, possibly for *schipman*.

A very general term, perhaps best included here, is **Outloper** (1583, once in Hakluyt), one who makes a run out, e.g. on a voyage of adventure; apparently ad. Du. *uit-looper* (Kilian, *uut-looper*, 'excursor').

#### 4. 9.

There are a number of terms for the handling and sailing of ships and for various operations on board ship.

An interesting group has to do with the loading and cargo of ships and probably came in in Middle English with the important Dutch freighting trade. **Fraught** (13.., *Coer de Lion*), the pa. pple. of the vb. *fraught*. **Fraught**, sb. (1375, *Sc. Leg. Saints*), the hire of a boat for the transportation of freight or cargo; (1330, *Rob. of Brunne*), the cargo of a ship; probably ad. M.Du. or MLG. *vracht* (also *vrecht*), freight, cargo, charge for transport; the irregular vocalism of the Du. word is supposed to point to adoption from Frisian; from Du. or Fris. the word has passed into all the Teutonic languages. The vb. **Fraught** (c. 1400) is from the sb.; but compare M.Du. *vrachten*. **Freight** (1463), the hire of a vessel for the transport of goods; (1502), the cargo or lading of a ship; probably ad. M.Du. or MLG. *vrecht*, variant of *vracht*. **Loss** (1482, from Sc.), to unload a vessel, to discharge goods from a vessel; ad. M.Du. *lossen*, from *los*, loose.

**Reef** (1390), one of the horizontal portions of a sail which may be successively rolled or folded up; ME. *riff*, *refe*, corresponds to (M.)Du. *reef*, *rif*, LG. *reef*, *reff*, and the ultimate source for both Eng.

and Low Dutch is ON. *rif*, in the same sense; it is possible that the word has passed through Low Dutch into English. **Marl** (c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.*), to tie, noose; (1704), to fasten with marline, small line, to secure together by a succession of half-hitches; ad. Du. or LG. *marlen* (whence Sw. *märle*, Da. *merle*), apparently a frequentative from M.Du. *merren*, to tie. **Marling**, vbl. sb. (1485, *Naval Acc. Hen. VII*), the action of marl; first as ‘merlyng irenes’.

**Woolding** (c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.*), the action of binding an object tightly with cord, esp. nautical, the action of winding rope or chain round a mast or yard, to support it where it is fished or broken; (c. 1425), a wrapping, swathing, esp. nautical, the rope or chain used in woolding; late ME. *wol(l)ing*, probably ad. MLG. *woling*, M.Du. *woeling* (Du. *woeling*, whence Da. *vuling*), from the MLG. vb. *wolen*, to woold. **Woolder** (1548), a woold

rope, in rope-making, a stick used as a lever in woolding, also a workman operating this; from *woold*, vb. and -er. **Woold** (1616), the late appearance of this word suggests that it is a back-formation from *woolding*, but it was probably a late ME. adoption of MLG. *wolen*, *wölen* (LG. *wölen*, pa. pple. *wöld*) or M.Du. *woelen*, ‘premere, constringere, torquere’ (Kilian) (Du. *woelen*), to woold. **Woold** (1628), woolding, binding cord or rope; from the vb.

**Swift** (1485), to tighten or make fast by means of a rope or ropes drawn taut, e.g. the rigging or masts, the capstan bars, or a boat or ship, by passing a rope round the gunwale or round the bottom and upper works to prevent strain; owing to the scantiness and chronological discrepancy of the early evidence the immediate source of this word is difficult to ascertain; presumably it is of Low Dutch or Scand. origin; compare ON. *svipta*, to reef, *sviptingar*, reefing ropes, Du. *zwichten*, to take in sails, to roll up ropes, *zwichtings*, *zwichtlijnen*, cat-harpings, W.Fris. *swicht*, a partly or completely folded sail, Da. *svigte*, to take in sail.

**Aloof** (1549), an obsolete phrase, the order to the steersman to turn the head of the ship towards the wind, or to make her sail nearer the wind, now *luff*; (1532), adv., away to the windward; (c. 1540), away, at some distance apart; from *a*, preposition, and *loof*, luff, weather gauge, windward direction, perhaps immediately from Du. *loef*, in ‘te loef’, to windward, ‘loef houden’, to keep the luff; cf. Da. *luv*, Sw. *lof*, perhaps also from Dutch. **Laveer** (1598), to beat to windward, to tack; ad. Du. *laveeren*, in the 17th century also *loeveren*, M.Du. *laeveren*, *loveren*, ad. F. *loveer*, now *louvoyer*, from *lof*, windward, of Low Dutch origin; the Du. word has been adopted into Scand. as Sw. *lofvera*, Da. *lavere*.

**Sheer** (1626), to turn aside, alter course; perhaps a use of the vb. *shear*, but the development of sense is obscure; in MLG. and LG., Du. (but not M.Du.) *scheren* (etymologically identical with shear) is often intransitive and reflexive, with the sense of withdraw, depart, be off; but as it seems never to have been used as a nautical term, the common view that the word is from Low Dutch lacks proof.

**Trade-wind** (1663), apparently originally in the phrase, ‘to blow trade’ (1591-1600), to blow in a regular or habitual course, afterwards often shortened in nautical use to trade, in

the plural ‘the trades’; the word has nothing to do with trade in the sense of commerce or passage for the purpose of trading, though the importance of these winds to navigation led 18th-century etymologists, and perhaps even navigators, so to understand the term (see **Trade**, p. 45).

**Avast** (1681), both Skeat and O.E.D. look upon this word as probably a worn-down form of Du. *hou vast*, *houd vast*, hold fast; it is the nautical order to stop or pause in any exercise, as ‘avast heaving’. **Gybe** (1693), of a fore and aft sail or its boom, to swing from one side of the vessel to the other; apparently ad. Du. *gijben*, now *gijpen*, but the phonetic change of the initial *g* sound to a *dʒ* sound is unexplained; perhaps the initial sound was affected by that of *jib* (1661), the name of a sail, a word which is found only in English, and possibly an abbreviation of gibbet. **Way** in the phrase **Under way** (1743), of a vessel having begun to move through the water; often spelled *weigh*; ad. Du. *onderweg* (also -*wegen*), on the way, under way, from *onder*, under, and *weg*, way.

There are a number of terms dealing with the treatment of ropes and cordage. **Splice** (a. 1625), to join by untwisting and interweaving the strands so as to form one continuous length; ad. M.Du. *splissen*, now represented in Low Dutch by dial. Du., LG., and G. *splissen*, W.Fris. *splisse*, N.Fris. *splesse*, *splasse*. The sb. is **Splice** (1627). The earliest record is of the vbl. sb. **Splicing** (1524-5). **Belay** (1549), as a representative of OE. *bi-*, *belegcan*, is obsolete; Skeat and O.E.D. suggest a Dutch origin, from Du. *beleggen*, for the verb in the nautical sense, the only current one, 'to coil a running rope round a cleat, belaying-pin, or keval so as to fasten or secure it'. **Feaze** (1568), to unravel a rope, to unravel at the end; possibly from M.Du. *vese*, *veze*, fringe, frayed end; the word is in some way related to Eng. sb. *fas*, fringe.

A few words deal with the damage or wrecking of a ship. **Wrack** (c. 1386), a wrecked ship, a vessel ruined or crippled by wreck; (1428), remnants of, or goods from, a wrecked vessel, esp. as driven or cast ashore; (1579), the total or partial disablement or destruction of a vessel by any accident of navigation or disaster; (1513), marine vegetation cast ashore by the waves or growing on the tidal foreshore; ad. M.Du. (also Du.) *wrack* (Kilian, *wracke*), or MLG. *wrak*, *wrack*, wreck, wrecked vessel. The vb. **Wrack** (1470-85) is from the sb. A variant is **Wrake** (sb. 1513, vb. 1570).

**Leak** (c. 1440, *Palladius on husbondrie*), to pass by a leak; probably much older than the first recorded date; corresponds to M.Du. *leken*, to let water through) drip, and ON. *leka*, to drip, leak, and may be from either, though the date and place (Essex) of its first appearance favour a Low Dutch rather than a Scand. origin; it is very likely that in later use the vb. was formed afresh from *leak*, sb. or adj. **Leak**, sb. (1487, *Naval Acc. Hen. VII*), a hole in a vessel by which a fluid enters or escapes; the proximate source is doubtful, but perhaps adopted from Low Dutch; cf. M.Du. and LG. *lek* (inflected *lĕk*, whence G. *leck*, Da. *laek*), Du. *lek*; it is possible that the Eng. word, notwithstanding its late appearance, may represent an adoption from the ON. *leke*, or even an OE. cognate. **Leak**, adj. (a. 1530), leaky; in OE. *hlecc* (c. 897, AElfred); after OE. the word does not appear until the 16th century, when it may have been adopted from M.Du. and LG. *lek* (inflected *lĕk*), cognate with ON. *lekr*; the exact relation between the adj. and the sb. and the vb. is undetermined.

**Split** (1590), of storms, rocks, &c., to break up a ship; (1602), to suffer shipwreck; (1593), to divide longitudinally by a sharp stroke; ad. M.Du. *splitten*, related to *spletten* and *splĭten* (Du. *splijten*, MLG. and LG. *spĭtten*).

**Crank-sided** (1626), from *crank*, which appears first in this combination. **Crank** (1696), liable to lean over and capsize; said of a ship when she is built too deep or narrow or has not sufficient ballast; Du. and Fris. have *krengd*, of a ship, laid or lying over on its side, pa. pple. of *krengen*, originally to apply pressure to, to push over, spec. to lay or cause a ship to fall upon her side, e.g. in careening, also intrans., to lie on one side, as a ship does when her cargo shifts in the hold; possibly this foreign word was caught up and confused with the native *crank*.

**Fother** (1789), to cover a sail thickly with oakum, &c., with a view to getting some of it sucked into a hole over which the sail is to be drawn; probably ad. Du. *voederen*, now *voeren*, or LG. *fodern*, to line, used also nautically as above.

A word which is not a term of loss or damage, but rather of the prevention of loss, is **Ballast** (1530), gravel, stones, iron, &c., placed in the hold of a ship in order to sink her to such a depth as to prevent her from capsizing when under sail; the oldest form is possibly O.Da. and O.Sw. *barlast* (a. 1400 and regularly in the 15th century), from *bar*, bare, and *last*, load, i.e. mere lading or weight, whence *ballast* with *-ll-* for *-rl-* by assimilation;

the later Da. *baglast*, backload, and 17th-century Du. *balglast*, bellyload, were corrupted by popular etymology; the form *ballast* also occurs in MLG. before 1400, and is taken as the original by Sch. and Lũ., who explain it from *bal*, bad, as bad lading; if this is well founded, *barlast* would rank with *balglast* and *baglast* as a popular perversion; the final *-t* is lost in the 16th- and 17th-century form *ballace*, first in the vb. where *ballast* was plausibly analysed as the pret. *ballass-ed*, and a new infinitive formed.

#### 4. 10.

There are a few words connected with the shore, harbour, and tidal water. **Creek** (c. 1250), a narrow recess or inlet in the coastline of the sea; (1478), a small port or harbour; the ME. forms *krike* and *cryke* correspond to F. *crique* (14th century), and *creke* and *creeke* to e.mod.Du. *kreek* (Kilian), creek, bay; the earlier history of the word is not known, but F. *crique* is generally supposed to be of Germanic origin; it is possible that the word was borrowed into Eng. both from French and Low Dutch and that the Dutch form finally supplanted the French.

**Tide** (c. 1436), in the secondary sense, tide of the sea; this sense corresponds exactly to MLG. *getide* (n.), *tide*, *tie* (n. and f.), LG. *tide*, M.Du. *ghetide* (n.), e.mod.Du. *tijde*, Du. *tij* (n.), 'tide of the sea', a particular application of MLG. *getide*, a fixed time, proper time, space of time; OE. had no form corresponding to *getide* (using for tide of the sea *flōd* and *ebba*), and *tīd* or *tide* in this sense is unknown before 1340; it may then have been introduced from or used after the MLG. word, but as in ME. *tide* had neither the difference of form or of gender seen in *de tīt* and *dat tide*, actual formal evidence of borrowing is wanting; of course, there is always the possibility of a transference of sense in ME., as in MLG.; two examples, both earlier than c. 1435, seem to mean the time of high water rather than the flood tide itself or the phenomenon of the tides (1340, Hampole, c. 1386, Chaucer).

A term of harbour equipment is **Buoy** (1466), a floating object moored over a shoal, rock, or sunken object to mark its position; it is not clear whether the Eng. word was originally from OF. *boie*, *buie* or from M.Du. *boje*, *boye*, *boei*.

**Slip** (1467), an artificial slope of stone built or made beside a navigable water to serve as a landing place; probably from *slip*, vb. (see p. 202). **Dock** (1513), the bed in which a ship lies at low water, the hollow made by a vessel lying in the sand;

(1538), a creek or haven in which vessels may lie on the ooze or ride at anchor; (1634-5), a trench, canal, or artificial inlet to admit a boat; (1552), an artificial basin excavated; first recorded in the 16th century in Du. and Eng. and perhaps in Eng. from Du. *docke*, now *dok*; from Du. and Eng. it has passed into other languages, Da. *docke*, Sw. *docka*, G. *dock*, *docke*, F. *dock*.

**Brack** (1513), as adj., salt, briny, brackish; (1591), as sb., salt water, brine, the sea; ad. Du. *brak*, brackish. Derivatives are **Brackish** (1637), **Brackishness** (1571), and **Bracky** (1593).

**Reef** (1584), a narrow ridge or chain of rocks, shingle, or sand, lying at or near the surface of the water; the ultimate source is ON. *rif*, in the same sense, but the immediate source of the word was probably Low Dutch, from Du. *rif* (Kilian also *riffe*), MLG. *rif*, *ref*. **Beer** (1629), a mole or pier; ad. Du. *beer*.

#### 4. 11.

A few words are of more specifically naval application. **Keelhaul** (1626), to haul a person under the keel of a ship; ad. Du. *kielhalen* (with the elements Anglicized as *keel* and *haul*); Du. *kielhalen* occurs in an ordinance of 1629, the punishment itself is mentioned in an ordinance of 1590 as 'onder den kiele deurstroken'; the quotation of 1626 (Capt. Smith, *Accid. Yng. Seamen*), is an explanation of the procedure, the first real occurrence being in 1666 (*Lond. Gaz.*).

**Cruise** (1651), to sail to and fro over some part of the sea without making for any particular port; the word corresponds alike to Du. *kruisen*, to cross, also, since the 17th century, to cruise, sail crossing to and fro, 'kruyssen op de Zee', to traverse and cross the sea (1678, Hexham), from *kruis*, cross, and to Sp. and Pg. *cruzar*, to cross, cruise, F. *croiser*, to cross, cruise up and down; the current spelling with *ui* seems to be after Du., but the vowel-sound is as in Sp. and Pg.

**Cruiser** (1679), a person or a ship that cruises; in the 18th century commonly applied to

privateers; from the vb. *cruise* and *-er*, or immediately ad. Du. *kruiser* (cf. also F. *croiseur*, ship and captain).

**Commodore** (1695), naval, an officer in command ranking above captain and below rear-admiral; (1697), an officer of like rank in the navies of other countries; apparently originally applied to Dutch commanders; in the 17th century, under William III, *commandore*, possibly ad. Du. *kommandeur*; some have conjectured a corruption of Sp. *commendador*, but no contact with Spain appears in the early instances.

#### 4. 12.4. 12.

In the Middle Ages there was no sharp division between the pirate and the lawful trader. When opportunity offered, the trader often turned pirate, and even the small fishing-boats, when in sufficient numbers, were likely to attack a merchant ship which they found in difficulties. In addition to this sporadic piracy there was organized piracy, sometimes on the largest scale, and with the countenance and even the support of the pirates' rulers.

In the 13th and 14th centuries constant piracy was carried on by the Zeelanders, with reprisals by the English; this was so bad from 1272 to 1281 that something like a sea war was going on between England and Zeeland. The same cause made relations between the two countries difficult in the reign of Edward II. Retaliation for piracy often took the form of legitimized piracy; thus when a Sandwich ship was seized and taken into Flushing in the reign of Edward II, two Dordrecht ships were in revenge seized at London. Different nationalities sometimes combined to retaliate; when in the reign of Edward I Flemish sailors attacked men from Bayonne, the Gascons retaliated with the help of the men of Yarmouth and the Cinque Ports; in 1292, in retaliation for the hanging of an English sailor in Brittany, English seamen made an organized attack on French and Flemish shipping at Sluys, the Flemings having generally sided with the French, and as a result the seaboard from Holland to the Bay of Biscay was plunged into confusion and alarm. It was the merest piracy on both sides. In 1293 there was a regular action in which English, Dutch, Flemings, Gascons, and Genoese are said to have taken part. A flagrant outrage by men from Blankney upon Dutch ships at Snitterley provoked at last royal intervention, and thirteen men were hanged for the murder of Dutchmen.

During the 14th and 15th centuries a sort of licensed private warfare was waged between English merchants and men of Norway, Prussia, Flanders, Scotland, Spain, and Genoa. In addition there were the regular pirates and freebooters. No unguarded place on the coast was safe, and petitions to the Parliament of 1382 show that the policing of the seas was so utterly wanting that on the north coasts alone 60 ships and 'crayers', beside minor craft, had been destroyed by hostile

4. 12.R. 20-49, 59; Ram.D.C. 401-3; I.C. I. 300-3, 409-10, 419; Abram, 84; Ch. Eliz. II. 308-9.

cruisers. Lincolnshire and Norfolk must have been especially open to attack. A pitiful complaint in 1383 from the men of Scarborough shows us the nature of the perils to which they were exposed; as their town lay open to the sea, it was day after day assailed by Scots, Flemings, and French, and though they had provided a barge and a ballinger for their own defence, they were unable to put up an effective resistance without aid in manning their ships.

The Channel was infested with pirates, and the mouth of the Rhine, Calais, and St. Malo are mentioned at different times as being their chief haunts. A very powerful association of pirates was allowed to ravage the North Sea and the Baltic. The Hanseatic League had availed themselves of the dangerous aid of these freebooters during their struggle with the king of Denmark, which was closed by the Treaty of Stralsund in 1370. They were not immediately able to put down the evil which they had allowed to spread, though the great organization of pirates known as the 'Victual Brothers' was broken up after their defeat off Heligoland in 1402. These pirates had burnt Bergen in 1392, and under their leaders Stortebeker and Michelson had devoted themselves especially to

preying on merchants who frequented English ports. When the Victual Brothers had been crushed the evil scarcely abated, for several small nests of pirates were formed out of the survivors of the great association, and their ravages by sea and land were so bold that at length the men of Amsterdam were moved to take the matter in hand, and in 1408 entered into a league with Hamburg, Lübeck, and other towns for the extirpation of the evil. They were successful in destroying nine of the haunts of the pirates at the mouth of the Ems, but little permanent good was done. A celebrated pirate named Voet, who was acting in the interest and possibly with the connivance of the Hanseatic League, sacked Bergen in 1428, and this was a serious blow to English trade in the North Sea.

Similar evils occurred nearer home, and there were pitiful complaints of the attacks of bands of outlaws known as the 'Rovers of the Sea', who pillaged the coasts in the time of Henry VI. It is only by an examination of the separate histories of different localities that we get any real idea of the frightful extent of the evil along the coasts. Agnes Paston writes in 1450, as of an everyday event, of a neighbour 'who was taken

with enemies, walking by the sea-coast'. The marauders seem to have kidnapped old and young; and we can well believe that rural districts like the neighbourhood of Paston had cause for alarm, when towns like Sandwich and Southampton were burnt, and London and Norwich were forced to plan means of defence with booms and chains. Englishmen on their part were not innocent; the people of Westeigi and Esteigi in Friesland petitioned the English king to restrain the Captain of Calais from sending the pirates he kept in his pay against their ships.

As in the earlier period, the simplest means of granting some redress was to allow the aggrieved party to seize the goods in England or on the seas of men who hailed from the same town or district as the pirates, in the hope that the penalty would at last fall upon the right shoulders. When piracy was carried on on an extensive scale, however, this was useless. The task of getting redress then passed into the hands of the Crown; thus protracted negotiations began with the Hanse in 1403 over the matter of privateering; the Livonians put in a claim for the loss of three ships and 250 men drowned, while claims were also entered by Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, Stralsund, Greifswald, and Kampen; counter-claims against Wismar and Rostock came from London, Newcastle, Hull, York, Colchester, Norwich, Yarmouth, Clee, Wiveton, and Lynn; Lynn claimed also restitution for goods and houses lost and for ransoms extorted at the sack of Bergen by corsairs from Wismar and Rostock.

In the modern period we get the separation of the peaceful trader from the pirate and buccaneer. The pirate becomes an outlaw with the hands of all traders and governments against him. At times, however, the dividing line between the privateer or private warship and the mere pirate is very difficult to draw, and this is never more so than in West Indian waters in the 16th and 17th centuries.

In the Parliament of 1601 there was a discussion concerning the losses suffered by the burgesses of Yarmouth, Sandwich, and other ports at the hands of the half-piratical, half-hostile ports of Nieuwport and Dunkirk. Among the explanations given was that they could so readily arm their ships with cannon cast in England, and though the export was prohibited, it was an active industry; it was stated that even during the progress of the debate there was a ship in the Thames ready to sail with thirty-six pieces of ordnance aboard. The queen's annual in-

come from the export duty on ordnance was no less than £3,000, and the result was that English ordnance sold as familiarly in France and Flanders as in England, and these privateers readily bought it.

During the Dutch wars English shipping suffered severely from Dutch privateers. At the same period, too, there was frequent intercourse between English and Dutch pirates and buccaneers in the West Indies and on the Spanish Main.



The earliest term of piracy introduced was **Rover** (1390), a sea-robber, pirate; ad. M.Du. or MLG. *rover*, from *roven*, to rob. The corresponding verb is very much later, **Rove** (a. 1548), to practise piracy, to sail as pirates; ad. M.Du. or MLG. *roven*, to rob; but perhaps not clearly distinguished from the vb. *rove*, to wander. **Rover** (1600), piracy; ad. M.Du. or MLG. *roverie*, robbery.

The measures taken against piracy in the 15th century have introduced **Wafter** (1484), an armed vessel employed as a convoy; (1482), the commander of a convoying vessel; apparently ad. Du. or LG. *wachter*, lit. guard, from *wachten*, to guard, but the specific use has not been found in Low Dutch. A back-formation from *wafter* is the vb. **Waft** (1513), to convoy ships; (1593), to convoy safely by water; (a. 1707), of the wind, to propel safely.

**Freebooter** (1570), one who goes about in search of plunder, esp. a pirate; ad. Du. *vrijbouter* (Kilian, *vrijbouter*), from *vrij*, free, and *buit*, boot, booty, and *-er*. **Filibuster** (1587), freebooter, a piratical adventurer who pillaged the Spanish colonies in the West Indies during the 17th century; the ultimate source is certainly the Du. *vrijbouter*; it is not clear whether the earliest Eng. form *flibutor*, of which there is only one example, was taken from Du. directly or through some foreign language; late in the 18th century the F. form *filibustier* was adopted into English and was the usual form until the middle of the 19th century, when *filibuster*, after Sp. *filibustero*, began to be employed as the designation of certain adventurers, who at that time were active in the West Indies and Central America, and this has now superseded *filibustier* even with reference to the history of the 17th century; it is possible that the corrupted form of the Du. word, with *fli-* for *fri-*, may be of Eng. origin, and may have been taken into F. from its use in the Eng. colonies in the West Indies, or that the F. form arose in the European wars of the

16th century, and is the immediate source of Eng. *flibutor*; in any case the insertion of the *-s-* probably originated in F. as a mere sign of vowel-length, though already pronounced in F. in 1704.

**Caper** (1657), a privateer, the captain of a privateer; ad. Du. *kaper*, privateer, corsair, from *kapen*, to take away, steal, rob, plunder (E.Fris. *kapen*). The vb. is later, **Cape** (1676), to take or seize as a privateer, to go a-privateering; ad. Du. *kapen*, *te kaap varen*, to go a-privateering.

#### 4. 13.4. 13.

The financial policy by which heavy or prohibitive import duties were imposed, in order to encourage the national industry or to raise revenue by the taxation of imported luxuries, led at once to the smuggling of the articles, as soon as the tax was heavy enough to make the attempt worth while. Such duties were very heavy in the 17th and 18th centuries, and smuggling in and out of the country was done on a large scale. The Dutch and Flemish, being so favourably situated opposite our coasts, were large participators in this illicit trade. The smuggling of wool to the Continent during the period when the export was absolutely forbidden attained enormous proportions; it was estimated in 1788 at 11,000 packs annually. In many articles of import, such as tea and spirits, the illicit trade was probably of larger dimensions than the legitimate; Sir Matthew Decker alleges the case of one man in Zeeland who exported to England half a million pounds of tea; he had started life as a common sailor, but prospered so that he had come to own four sloops which he employed in running tea.

**Lorendriver** (1649, once), a smuggler; ad. Du. *lorendraaier*, smuggler. **Smuggler** (1661), one who smuggles; ad. LG. *smukkeler*, Du. *smokkelaar*, or LG. *smugg(e)ler*. **Smuggle** (1687), to convey goods in or out of a country so as to avoid paying duty; apparently of Low Dutch origin; the earlier form *smuckle* corresponds to LG. *smukkeln* or Du. *smokkelen*, while the slightly later *smuggle* corresponds to LG. *smuggeln* (whence also Da. *smugle*, Norw. *smugla*, Sw. *smuggla*).

4. 13. I.C. II. 410.



## Chapter V

### Intercourse between English and Low Dutch Fishermen

#### 5. 1.5. 1.

THE oldest mention of the fishing trade of the Hollanders and Zeelanders in England dates from the end of the 13th century; three ships were fitted out in 1295 by the king, then at war with France, in order to protect the ships of Englishmen, Hollanders, and Zeelanders, who were fishing on the coast off Yarmouth, and a proclamation was to be read twice a week warning men not to hinder, injure, or oppress these men, since they were friendly to the king. Two years later Edward I took fresh measures to protect English and foreign fishers from vagabonds. Flemings were now named as well as the Hollanders and Zeelanders. These measures for their protection presuppose that the fisheries had attained considerable importance in the economic life of England and merited thoroughgoing attention, and we can with safety assume that the fisheries date from many years before, though their early history is only surmise. More particulars are available for the next century. There were complaints by the Dutch in 1309 of the actions of the innkeepers, and these complaints keep cropping up during the whole century. The importance of the fishery to the Dutch appears when we find the Count of Holland taking up these complaints with the English Crown.

Ruinen has examined the evidence of the arrest of ships for debt at Yarmouth. Some ships were seized with their rigging and nets; the cargo of others was arrested and sold; sometimes also ready money was paid down, probably to redeem the cargo. The ships that were seized entire had probably come in in ballast, while the others had their catches aboard. He deduces what the method of operation of the fishermen was: they came empty from Zeeland or south Holland and went from Yarmouth to the fishing-grounds, bringing back their catch to this centre of the English herring trade, where 'hosts' bought the fish from them, and, as it appears, not seldom swindled them; then, having disposed of their catch, they set off to the grounds for another. The fishermen did not always bring back the catch themselves, for fish-buyers already went out to sea to fetch their

5. 1.R. 52-8.

supplies. In 1319 this was perhaps to escape the levy of the extra tolls. This way of trading had more advantage for the buyer, as with less competition he could buy at a lower price; it suited the fisherman also, as he could sell his catch at sea without the loss of time in running into Yarmouth. It was not so good for the buying public, as the middleman often abused his favourable position.

Some indication of the importance of these foreign fishermen to the town is given by a petition of 1316 from certain great persons of the realm and from the towns of Great and Little Yarmouth to take off certain tolls, because the fishers of the Count keep away, to the great harm of the town and interference with the market for coming years. Evidence of the size of the fishing fleet is Count Willem III's provision of 140 herring-busses for Queen Isabella.

Ruinen finds evidence that the fishing season was probably from the beginning of August to St. Martin's Day. The fishers came from various towns and villages of Zeeland and south Holland, especially from Westkapelle, Zoutelande, Campoere, Flushing, Arnemuiden, Kortgene, Cats, Brouwershaven, Zierikzee, Brill, and Maarland.

#### 5. 2.5. 2.

In the 16th and 17th centuries the Dutch herring fishery was very important; the number of those in Holland and Zeeland subsisting on fishing in 1609 was reckoned at from 50,000 to 60,000, of whom 40,000 were actually fishermen; in 1601, 1,500 doggers sailed from Holland and Zeeland to the herring fishery, four times as many as half a century earlier. This Dutch fishery was an object

of jealousy to the competing English. Dutch fishing-rights on the English coast, however, were guaranteed by old treaties dating back to the 13th and 14th centuries, and confirmed by the Great Intercourse of 1496, which regulated the commercial relations of the Netherlands with England. Fishing along the Scottish coast did not rest upon similar agreements; but the very silence about the fishing rights can be adduced as an agreement for the freedom of the industry. When at the end of the 16th century the English fishing industry began to develop, quarrels ensued between English and foreign fishermen, especially as the more numerous Hollanders gained from time to time the upper hand, and as a result progress was hindered.

**5. 2.** I.C. II. 67, 71, 208, 483; Blok, III. 337-40; IV. 534.

The English Government recognized that the fisheries were an admirable school for the training of seamen, and so took steps to prevent the usurpation of the trade by foreign fishermen. There seemed to be little opportunity for increasing the sale of fish in foreign countries, since Norway and the Netherlands not only supplied their home demands but had a large surplus for export. Cecil therefore concentrated on the home market, and in a statute of 1563 a prohibition was inserted against buying herrings from foreigners unless they were shipwrecked, while Englishmen were allowed to export fish without paying any tax. In 1609 James I issued a placard forbidding foreigners to fish along the coasts and in his waters, unless they paid a tax for the privilege. This caused a great commotion in Holland, and the fishermen refused to pay the tax. In 1616 the royal officers charged with collecting it were attacked and carried off to Holland; violent quarrels, destruction of nets, and finally actual outbreaks between fishermen of the Netherlands and those of English and Scottish nationality resulted, and an open breach between England and the States was with difficulty avoided.

The Elizabethan measures to protect the fisheries could hardly have been very successful, for we find patriotic Englishmen in the 17th century just as concerned about the state of the fishing industry. John Smith in *England's Improvement Revived* (1673) pointed out that a flourishing fishing industry was the very foundation of Dutch prosperity; Misselden in his *Free Trade* (1662) complained of the encroachment of the Dutch on our herring fishery; Tobias Gentleman in *England's Way to Win Wealth* (1614) gave various suggestions on the subject, while in *Britain's Buss* (1615) Englishmen were urged to build their fishing-busses on the Dutch model. In this century, too, there were attempts to develop fishing by the formation of companies wealthy enough to undertake the business on a large scale. The Company of the Royal Fishery of England was never very prosperous; it soon expended its original capital, and the subscribers of a second stock in 1683 were equally unfortunate. An attempt to found a similar company was made in 1750, the special object being to gain the white herring fishery from the Dutch, while the cod fishery was also to be attempted; this company, too, never answered the expectations of its promoters. It required war to equalize matters between English and Dutch

fishers. The Dutch herring-fleet suffered grievously in the second half of the 17th century, as very many busses were captured by English, French, and Swedish privateers, and whole fleets were frequently destroyed, especially during the English wars. By the end of this century the Dutch fishery had greatly fallen off, and Scottish fishermen were beginning to drive the Dutch from the world's markets. Nevertheless intercourse has continued ever since, especially in the North Sea grounds and on the Dogger Bank.

### 5. 3.

A few names of kinds of fish were introduced from Low Dutch into Middle English. **Schulle** (a. 1300, *Havelok*), a plaice; probably ad. M.Du. or MLG. *schulle*, *scholle*. **Butt** (a. 1300, *Havelok*), a name applied variously in different places to kinds of flatfish as sole, fluke, turbot, &c.; as Da. *bøtte*, Sw. *butta* are from Low Dutch, it is improbable that the Eng. word is from Scand.; the more probable origin is MLG. *but* (LG. *butte*) or M.Du. *botte*, *butte*; *Havelok* is a poem of Lincolnshire

origin, and we know that intercourse with Low Dutch fishermen was especially strong in this region in the 13th and 14th centuries. **Butkin** (1526), a small fish, is a diminutive of the above, and may be from *butt* and *-kin*, or a direct borrowing from the Flem. diminutive of *botte*, *butte*.

**Spirling** (c. 1425), the smelt; ad. MLG. *spirling* or M.Du. *spierling*. A variant is **Spurling** (a. 1471, from Suffolk). **Sparling** (1307-8), however, is ad. OF. *esperlinge*, of Teutonic origin.

**Whiting** (14.., *Nom.* in *Wr.-Wü.*, c. 1425), a small fish with pearly-white flesh abundant off the coast of Great Britain and highly esteemed as food; ad. M.Du. *wijting*, also *wittingh* (MLG. *witink*). Names of fish from Low Dutch are more numerous in the modern period. **Lump** (1545), a spiny-finned fish of a leaden blue colour and uncouth appearance, the sea-owl; found also as M.Du. *lompe*, MHG. *lumpen*, G. *lump*, *lumpfisch*, F. *lompe*; by foreign etymologists it has been commonly supposed to be of English origin, a use of the sb. *lump* with reference to the bulky figure of the fish; the Du. forms are, however, known from earlier examples than the Eng., and the word in Eng. may be a borrowing from Low Dutch.

**Pickle-herring** (c. 1570), a pickled herring; appears first as *pickled herring*, later *pickle-herring*, after M.Du. or e.mod.Du. *peeckel-harinck*, MLG. *pekel-herink*, both in the same sense.

**Scaffling** (1589), a kind of eel; ad. M.Du. *sc(h)afteling(h)*, *scaflingh*. **Dorse** (1610), a young cod; ad. LG. *dorsch*, in the same sense. **Haye** (1613, Purchas), a shark or a particular species of shark; ad. Du. *haai*, plural *haaien*, W. Flem. *haaie* (in Kilian, 1599, *haeye*), whence also Sw. *haj*, G. *hai*, shark. **Quab** (1617), a sea-slug, also an eelpout; (1628), a crude or shapeless thing; ad. M.Du. and MLG. *quabbe*, Du. *kwab*, *kwabbe*, LG. *quabbe*, burbot, eelpout, goby, tadpole. **Garnel**, **Gernel** (1694), a species of shrimp; ad. Du. *garnaal*, dial. *garneel*, shrimp.

**Cabilliau**, **Cabeliau** (1696, W. Montague, *Delights of Holland*), codfish, codfish which has been salted and hung for a few days, but not thoroughly dried; ad. F. *cabillaud*, *cabliau*, or Du. *kabeljauw*, a name used, according to Franck, by all the coast Germans since the 14th century (MLG. *kabelaw*, G. *kabliau*, *kabeljau*, Sw. *kabeljo*, Da. *kabeljau*); it has generally been regarded as a transposed form of *bakeljauw*, *bakkeljau*, *bacalao*, which is, however, not compatible with the history of the word.

**Snook** (1697, Dampier), a name given to various fishes, esp. to the sergeant fish and the robalo; ad. Du. *snoek*, pike.

**Brassy** (1710), the Sc. form of *brasse*. **Brassem** (1731), a kind of fish, perhaps a sea-bream; ad. Du. *brasem* (M.Du. *brasem*, *braessem*, in Kilian *braessem*; the form corresponds to MLG.

*brassem*). **Brasse** (1847), a name of a fish of the perch family; probably from MLG. *brasse*, 'eyn *brasse*', 'salmo'.

**Crucian**, **Crusian** (1763), a species of fish, a native of central Europe, of a deep yellow colour; formed with the suffix *-an* and accommodated spelling from earlier or dial. LG. *karusse*, *karuse*, *karutze*.

**Crape-fish** (1856), codfish, salted and hardened by pressure; perhaps from LG. *krapp*, hard, twisted (rope), hardbaked. **Matie** (1858), a herring in what is considered the best condition for food, when the roe is perfectly but not largely developed; ad. Du. *maatjes(haring)*, earlier *maetgens-*, *maeghdekens-*, from *maagd*, maid, and *ken*, kin (cf. MLG. *madikesherink*, LG. *maid-kenshering*).

There are a few terms applied to fish. **Roe** (a. 14.., *Voc.* in *Wr.-Wü.*, c. 1430), the mass of eggs contained in the ovarian membrane of a fish; the ME. type *\*ro<sup>3</sup>(e)*, *row(e)*, corresponds to M.Du. *roch*, *roge* (Kilian, *roghe*), Flem. *rog*, MLG. *roge*, *rogge*; it is not clear whether this is a native Eng. word, unrecorded in OE., or, perhaps more probably, a later adoption from Low

Dutch. **Milt** (1483, Caxton), the roe or spawn of the male fish, the 'soft roe'; the spleen in mammals; OE. *milte*, spleen, corresponds to OF. *milte*, spleen, M.Du. *milte*, Du. *milt*, spleen, also the milt of fish, ON. *milte*, spleen; the sense 'spawn of fish' may have been adopted from Du.; as the milt of fish is of a soft substance like the spleen, the transferred use was not unnatural; but it

was no doubt helped to gain currency by the resemblance in sound between *milt* and *milk* (Du. *milch*), the older name for the soft roe of a fish. **Milter** (1601), a male fish, esp. in spawning time; from *milt* and *-er*, but perhaps adopted from the equivalent Du. *milter*.

**School** (c. 1400), a shoal or large number of fish, porpoises, whales, &c., swimming together whilst feeding or migrating; (1555), a troop, crowd (of persons), a large number; ad. Du. *school*, troop, multitude, 'school' of whales, M.Du. *schole*. **Shoal** (1573), a large number of fish, &c. (in Spenser, 1573, applied to persons; in North, 1579-80, to birds; in Nashe, 1593, to fish); the earlier history of the word is uncertain; etymologically it is identical with OE. *scolu*, troop, which corresponds to OS. *scola*, multitude, MLG. *schole*, M.Du. *schole*, multitude, flock, shoal of fishes, Du. *school*; it is possible that in OE. the word had the unrecorded sense of a shoal of fishes, and in this sense continued in nautical use, but it is simpler to suppose that the 16th-century *shole* was a readoption of the Du. form, which in the 14th century had been taken into Eng. as *scole*; the initial (□) may be an Eng. sound-substitution for the Du. (s<sub>x</sub>), or it may have come in from one of the Flem. dialects in which *sch* was pronounced (□).

**Rope-sick** (1614, T. Gentleman, *Eng. Way to Win Wealth*), of herring, having the back infested with parasitical worms; ad. Du. dial. *ropziek*; the pamphlet of 1614 is the source of the later quotations.

#### 5. 4.

An important group of words consists of the names of kinds of fishing-boats and of the tackle and equipment used in fishing.

**Buss** (1471), a vessel of burden; also a kind of boat which was and is used in the Dutch herring fishery; in the sense of vessel of burden probably from OF. *busse*, in the sense of fishing-boat it is generally supposed to be ad. M.Du. *bûse*, *buusse*, *buysse*, vase, cup, small vessel, spec. as used in the herring fishery (Kilian has *buyse*, 'navis piscatoria'); the Du. word is ad. OF. *busse*, and was perhaps imported on the coast near Dun-

kirk; if the Eng. word is from M.Du., then it has been approximated in sound to *busse* from OF. *busse*.

**Corver** (1491), a kind of Dutch herring fisher and fishing-boat; ad. M.Du. *corver*, a fisherman and fishing-boat of some kind. Compare *te corve varen*, to go fishing in a *korfscip*, *korfharinck*, a herring of some kind, *korfmarct*, the market where the fish is sold.

**Cag** (1596), a small fishing-vessel; from Du. *kaag*, in the same sense, e.mod.Du. *kaghe* (LG. *kag*); the Du. word has also given F. *caque*, a fishing-boat. **Tode** (1600, J. Keymer, *Dutch Fishing*), more fully *tode-boat*, a small Dutch fishing-vessel; the origin of the word is obscure, no similar term being known in Du.; Groningen dial. has *todden*, to drag, tow, tug, *todden*, *tod*, as much as one can carry, burden, load; and Guelderland and Overijssel dials. have *todden*, to drag, and perhaps the origin of the Eng. word lies in a combination of one of these words with *boat*.

**Crab-skuit** (1614, Markham, *Way to Wealth*), a small open fishing-boat with sails; ad. Du. *krab-schuyte*, from *krabbe*, crab, and *schuit*, boat.

**Herring-buss** (1615, E.S., *Brit. Buss*), a two- or three-masted vessel used in the herring fishery; ad. Du. *haringbuis*. **Jagger** (1615, E.S., *Brit. Buss*), a sailing-vessel which followed a fishing-fleet in order to bring the fish from the busses, and to supply them with stores and provisions; ad. Du. *jager*, abbreviation of *haringjager*, from *haring*, herring, and *jagen*, to chase, pursue.

**Hooker** (1641, S. Smith, *Royal Fishings*), a two-masted Dutch coasting- or fishing-vessel; (1801), a one-masted fishing-smack similar to a hoy in build; apparently originally ad. Du. *hoecker* (in Hexham, *hoecker-schip*, 'a dogger-boat', in Kilian, *hoeck-boot*, a fishing-boat, so called from



*hoeck*, hook). **Pinkie, Pinky** (1874), a narrow-sterned fishing-boat; from *pink* (see p. 70) and *-ie*, *-y*, diminutives, or perhaps ad. M.Du. *pinke*.

**Coper, Cooper** (1881), a vessel fitted out to supply ardent spirits, &c., usually in exchange for fish, to the deep-sea fishers of the North Sea, a floating grog-shop; ad. Flem. and Du. *kooper*, Fris. and LG. *koper*, purchaser, dealer, trader, from *koopen*, to buy, trade, deal; O.E.D. states that in the memory of Grimsby smacksmen the name goes back to 1854, when Flemish and Dutch *koopers* first began to frequent the fleets.

The following are the terms for fishing-tackle. **Elger** (c. 1440,

*Pr. Parv.*), an eel-spear; perhaps from. Flem. *aalgeer*, *elger*, though it may represent OE. *ælf*, eel, and *gár*, spear. **Mesh** (1558-9), one of the open spaces or interstices of a net; the 16th-century forms are *meishe*, *meash*, *mash*, *mesh*; the form *mash* would regularly reproduce an O.E.

\**maesc*, which occurs only once in the metathetic form *max*, net; the forms *meishe*, *meash* indicate a pronunciation with a long vowel (*mē*), and *mesh* the shortening of the original vowel, probably in ME. (cf. *flesh*); on the whole, on account of the absence of the word in ME., its form-history in the 16th century, and the frequency with which fishing terms were adopted from Du., it is probable that *meash* (shortened to *mesh*) and *mash* represent adoptions respectively of the M.Du. forms *maesche* and *masche*. **Mass** (1641, S. Smith, *Herring Buss Trade*), a mesh; ad. Du. *maas*. **Lask** (1864), a hook baited with a slice from the side of a mackerel; perhaps ad. M.Du. *lasche* (Du. *lasch*), piece cut out, flap.

## 5. 5.

A few miscellaneous terms of fishing and the fish trade remain. Two of them refer to the curing of fish. **Corved**, ppl. adj. (1641, S. Smith, *Herring Buss Trade*), herrings in salt pickle for a few days before they are to be made into red herrings; apparently the same as the M.Du. *korfharinck*, mentioned under **Corver** (see p. 95), of which the exact sense is equally obscure; a suggestion is that as *tonharing* is barrelled herring, *korfharing* may be herring not barrelled, but brought ashore in baskets; *corved* would then be 'put in a corf or corves'. **Rowerback** (1641, S. Smith, *Herring Buss Trade*), a trough in which herrings are stirred amid salt; ad. Du. *roerbak*.

A term for an operation in catching fish is **Balk** (1603), to signify to fishing-boats the direction taken by shoals of herring or pilchards as seen from heights overlooking the sea, done at first by bawling or shouting, subsequently by signals; probably ad. Du. *balken*, to bray, bawl, shout, cognate with OE. *baelcan*, to shout, which would itself have given *balch*. The sb. **Balker** (1602) occurs a year earlier; a man who gives such signals; from *balk* and *-er*.

A term which comes in from the large Dutch trade in the Middle Ages from the Rhine, Holland, and Zeeland in dried and smoked eels is **Palingman** (1482), a man who deals in eels; ad. Du. *palingman*, from *paling*, eel, and *man*.

A term of the fish trade is **Bummaree** (1707), a middleman in the fish trade at Billingsgate; Bense says that this is

probably a corruption of the earlier *bummery* (see. p. 63), which according to the *English Dialect Dictionary* is London slang, and has also the sense of usurer, while it occurs as a verb meaning 'to buy up large quantities of fish to sell retail', and 'to run up a score at a newly opened public house'.



## Chapter VI

### English and Low Dutch Intercourse through Whaling

#### 6. 1. 6. 1.

THE first of the northern whale fisheries was off the coast of Greenland. As early as 1552 there is record of clashing there between the English and the Dutch, for in that year the Dutch whalers were driven away by the English and some part of their cargoes confiscated; but the Dutch returned under the protection of ships of war and succeeded in re-establishing themselves.

The voyage of Richard Chancellor in 1553 through the White Sea to Archangel was the first step in the opening up of the Spitzbergen Seas. The Dutch navigator Berents discovered Spitzbergen in 1596, and he was followed in 1607 by Hudson in the *Hopewell*. They found the sea swarming with whales which showed no fear of ships. The first whaling expedition was fitted out by the Muscovy Company under the command of Jonas Poole, and four voyages, made from 1609 to 1612, were so successful as soon to attract the competition of other nations. Hot quarrels between the Muscovy Company and Dutch ship-owners drove the latter in self-preservation to form a Northern and Greenland Company, which obtained its charter in 1614, and this Company soon had a score of well-armed ships, each with two sloops, and proceeded to exploit the fisheries. They were so successful that for a time they drove the English altogether from the Greenland fishery. The Dutch maintained a fishery at Jan Mayen until 1640, but this was not of such importance as the Spitzbergen fishery. In the latter 10,019 whales were taken by them in the ten years from 1679 to 1688; about 1680, when the fishery was at the height of its prosperity, they had 260 ships and 14,000 seamen engaged in it. They built at Spitzbergen their own huts for the blubber boiling, and there the whalers pitched their tents, so that a regular village, Smeerenburg, sprang up, which was deserted at their departure.

The Dutch Northern Company had lost its charter in 1642, and the whale fishery from the Netherlands was henceforth

**6. 1.** Blok, III. 331-2; IV. 81, 272, 534; V. 74; Bense, A.D.R. 142; I.C. I. 506; II. 111, 484; *Encycl. Brit.* (11th ed., vol. XXVIII, pp. 571-2, art. 'Whaling').

free. In 1660 the Greenland fishery was mainly prosecuted from the Friesland ports, though by the end of the 17th century Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Vlaardingen, Delfshaven, and the Zaan villages had gained most of this trade. There sailed annually then about 200 ships, though in good years about 250. The fishery was prosecuted on an extensive scale till 1770 and then began to decline, until at the end of the 18th century no more ships were being sent out. New ground for whaling had been opened out by the Dutch when they started the fishery in the Davis Strait in 1719, and for a time this was some compensation for the increasing English, French, and Low German competition. At first they killed large numbers of whales, but English ships soon came in to compete.

The German ports also engaged extensively in whaling. In 1721, 79 ships sailed from Hamburg and Bremen, while an average of 45 ships sailed every year from Hamburg alone during the period from 1670 to 1719. The Germans continued to take part in the industry until 1873. The English Government made many attempts to recover the supremacy in whaling which the English had lost in the reign of James I. In 1660 double alien customs were imposed on whalebone and blubber imported as a merchant's speculation, and not by the owners of the ship which had prepared the cargo. A joint-stock company was formed in 1692, which was subsequently allowed to import whale oil free of duty; the company, however, soon ran through its capital, and the fishery was then left to private enterprise, supported, however, by government bounties. The trade was so stimulated that in 1755 no less than £55,000 was paid out in bounty. In the first quarter of the 19th century there was scarcely a port of any importance on the east coast of England that was not represented in the whale fisheries, and most of the Scottish east coast ports and Greenock on the west coast were also taking part. One by one they fell away until only Dundee and Peterhead were left in 1893, and then the latter dropped out also.

**6. 2.**



Many of the words borrowed from Low Dutch on the whaling voyages are the names of northern beasts and birds, the various species of whale and seal which the whalers hunted, and the sea-birds they met in the northern seas. **Whalefish** (c. 1511), a whale; ad. Du. or MLG. *walvisch*. **Walrus** (1655), a

large amphibious and carnivorous mammal of the northern seas, the morse or sea-horse; probably from Du. *walrus*, *walros*; the OE. word was *horshwael*. **Narwhal** (1658), the name of this whale of the northern seas was borrowed by the Dutch, from Scandinavian seamen (cf. Da. *narhval*); the Eng. word is from the Du. *narwal*. **Rubb** (1694), a seal, is from the LG. *rubbe* (Du. *rob*). **Potwalfish** (1694), potfish or cachalot; probably ad. e.mod.Du. *potswalvisch*, which Kilian glosses as 'cete'. A later name for the same whale is **Potfish** (1743), ad. Du. *potvisch*; O.E.D. suggests that in this word *pot* is the same as in early Du. *potshoofd*, thickhead, Flem. *potshoofd*, eelpout, in reference to the huge head. **Clapmatch** (1743), a kind of seal; apparently ad. Du. *klapmuts*, a sailor's cap; so called from the hood of the animal. **Nordcaper** (1822), a North Atlantic species of whale; ad. Du. *noordkaper* or G. *nordkaper*, from Du. *noordkaap* or G. *nordkap*, the North Cape, from the regions where the beast is found.

The names of northern sea-birds are **Rotge** (1694), the little auk; Martens in his *Voyage to Spitzbergen* (trans. 1694) gives this as the name current among Dutch and Frisian seamen, with the statement that it is derived from the bird's cry, *rottet tet*, but it is more likely a misunderstanding of Fris. *rotgies*, plural of *rotgoes*, brent goose; we know that at this period the Dutch whaling trade was mainly in the hands of Frisians. **Mallemuck** (1694), the fulmar or similar bird; ad. Du. *mallemok*, from *mal*, foolish, and *mok*, gull; compare *mallemaroking*, which has the first element the same.

### 6. 3.

A group of words deals with the practice of whaling, the treatment of the whale's carcass, and the products obtained from the whale. **Train oil** (c. 1553), oil obtained by boiling the blubber of whales, and formerly also seals, &c.; the later name for *train* (see **Train**, p. 46). **Greaves, Graves**, sb. plur. (1614), the fibrous matter found in animal fat, originally a term of the whale fishery and a by-product of the production of train oil; it was used in agriculture in cake form as a food for hogs, dogs, &c., and the first reference in English, in Markham's *Cheape and Good Husbandry*, is to this; ad. LG. *greven*, plur. (also borrowed into Scand. as Sw. dial. *grevar*, Da. *grever*).

**Cardel** (1694), a hogshead containing, in the 17th century, 64 gallons; used in the Dutch whaling trade; ad. Du. *kardeel*, properly *quartel*, fourth part.

**Hovel** (1694), the whalers' term for the bump on top of a whale's head; ad. Du. *heuvel* (M.Du. *hövel*, in Kilian *hovel*), hill, bump, boss. **Specksioner** (1820), a harpooner, usually the chief harpooner who directs the operation of flensing a whale; ad. Du. *speksnijer*, colloquial form of *speksnijder* (with dropping of intervocalic *d*), from *spek*, speck, blubber, and *snijden*, to cut. **Crang** (1821), a carcass of a whale after the blubber has been removed; ad. Du. *kreng* (M.Du. *crenge*), carrion. The word is also found in the form **Kreng** (1835); ad. Du. *kreng*. **Lull** (1836), a tube to convey blubber into the hold; also as a compound, *lull-bag*; ad. Du. *lul*, tube.

A curious word which is evidence of the intermingling and carousing together of the crews of English and Dutch whalers is **Mallemaroking** (1867), the visiting and carousing of seamen in the Greenland ships; from Du. *mallemarok*, a foolish woman, tomboy, from *mal*, foolish, and *meroc*, *marot*, woman, from F. *marotte*, object of foolish affection.

There are a few words which illustrate the conditions of navigation in northern waters. **Shoal** (1648), a mass of floating ice, an iceberg or floe; ad. Du. *schol*, in the same sense; O.E.D. points out that this is certainly a term of the northern voyages and not of the Baltic, for we should expect MLG. *scholle*, a clod, to have developed the same meaning of a mass of ice. **Iceberg** (1774), an

Arctic glacier, which comes close to the coast and is seen from the sea as a hill or 'hummock'; (1820), a detached portion of a glacier carried out to sea, a huge floating mass of ice, often rising to a great height above the water; an adapted form of the Du. (and M.Du.) *ijsberg*. The shortened form of *iceberg* is **Berg** (1823), only used when ice is mentioned or understood in the context.



## Chapter VII

### Low Dutch Influence through Agriculture

#### 7. 1.

THERE is practically no direct evidence for the Middle English period of Low Dutch influence on the vocabulary of agriculture. Many terms of agriculture were nevertheless borrowed, and these have to be accounted for. Certain large assumptions have to be made, and despite the lack of supporting evidence they are fairly safe. It must be assumed that many of the Flemings who settled in England during the period settled eventually on the land, either in definitely placed colonies like those on the Scottish border and in Pembroke, Gower, and Ross, or in small groups and single families of which no record was ever made. Ralph de Diceto, in describing the effects of Henry II's disbanding of Flemish mercenaries, speaks of the Flemings as driven from the castle to the plough and from camps to workshops. Those who had been drawn from agriculture to the life of a soldier returned to farming when their other occupation was lost, and this probably happened to some extent at every disbandment of Low Country mercenaries. It seems, too, that there must have been a considerable immigration into the eastern counties from the Low Dutch lands opposite across the sea, and many of these immigrants doubtless engaged in agriculture. Again, some of the Low Dutch people who came to England to engage in other trades and crafts might also devote part of their time to farming.

#### 7. 2. 7. 2.

During the 17th century there was a very decided increase of knowledge as to the best methods of turning land to good account. New suggestions appear in the numerous agricultural treatises and pamphlets and, as on so many other sides of economic life, Dutch methods were held up as an example. Gabriel Plattes, the first theorist of modern agricultural science in England, whose chief work appeared in 1638, was undoubtedly Dutch in origin, while Simon Hartlib, the friend of Milton and one of the most active publicists of the new movement, was a naturalized Dutchman. The people of Holland

**7. 2.** Seebohm 230, 241, 268-9, 285, 296, 302, 311-18; I.C. II. 545-6; A.I. 177, 217; Blok, IV. 91; *Life and Work in Modern Europe*, by G. Renard and G. Weulersse (trans. M. Richards) (London, 1926), 103-6.

were not much given to the growing of cereals, but they were skilled in cattle-breeding and dairy-farming, and Englishmen were impressed with the desirability of imitating them, by growing root crops and artificial grasses, so as to have better means of feeding stock during the winter. Root crops appear to have been introduced to some extent as a course of husbandry; Weston refers to them in his *Discourse of Husbandrie Used in Brabant* (1652). In Elizabeth's time the only new field crop was buckwheat or 'brank', which Heresbach observed was brought from North Germany and Russia 'not long since'; Tusser advocated it as 'comforting to the land' and useful for fattening all kinds of stock. The growing of hops was introduced from the Low Countries and had become popular towards the middle of the 16th century.

In the 17th century land was taken up by men who meant to make farming pay as a business proposition, and the result was a flood of experiments and brilliant suggestions foreshadowing the

real and practical advance of the following century. The first experiments were not very successful, and though the 17th century had the ideas and the new words which came with them, the practice was mainly left to the 18th century, when there was real progress in filling up the unproductive gap caused by the fallow year. The turnip did not become really important in English farming until after the publication of Jethro Tull's description of the new methods of cultivation in 1731, which made it possible to grow much bigger roots, and until Lord Townshend had proved its value. These men still drew their inspiration from the example of Dutch farmers. Artificial grasses, even clover, just as the roots, at first failed to make headway, though Plattes did indeed recommend sainfoin, and clover seed appeared in price-lists at the end of the 17th century; nothing was known, however, about the selection of seeds and the use of the aftermath. From the middle of the 17th century onward the Dutch 'trefoil or clover-grass' was much recommended. Speed in 1659 first mentions cattle-cake made from turnips, and this very advanced idea was borrowed from the Dutch, who bought up English rape-seed, after the oil had been extracted, to make cake for their beasts. Two other field crops were now introduced; the cabbage-turnip or kohl-rabi was brought in by Reynolds of Addisham in Kent in 1767 and the mangel-wurzel later.

Low Country stock was imported to improve the native English breeds. The short-horned cattle of the east coast seem to have been a breed new to England and were probably introduced from the Netherlands in the 17th century; they are described by Mortimer in 1707 as the 'long-legged, short-horned Dutch breed of Lincolnshire and Kent'. In Charles I's reign the breed of draught horses was improved by the importation of strong grey Flanders mares. The old black English horses of what was known as the 'Fen breed' were much improved early in the 18th century by the importation of six mares sent over from Zeeland by Lord Chesterfield, and Derbyshire took the lead in their successful breeding and other midland counties followed. In dairy-farming the Dutch taught us the arts of fine butter- and cheese-making.

The main improvements in implements came in the 18th century, though Plattes is the first to mention the drill. A much more modern and scientific form of plough was the short, light, Dutch or Yorkshire plough, which was doubtless a development of the 'Dutch bastard' of the preceding century and was also a swing plough, but constructed on principles brought from Holland. A machine for winnowing was introduced from Holland about the middle of the century and improved by the father of William Marshall the agriculturist.

In the 17th century the Dutch were noted for their horticulture, and there is every reason to believe that under the guidance of the 17th-century writers who were familiar with Dutch practice a great improvement took place in English gardening. Gardening, both ornamental and kitchen, was scarcely known or, at any rate, systematically practised in England before the time of Elizabeth. The formal fashion which was then introduced from Holland flourished exceedingly and has not yet quite died out. A further impetus to horticulture was given by the religious refugees from the Netherlands; for many of them who came over to practise industrial callings were also skilled gardeners. A great craze for growing and speculating in bulbs sprang up in Holland in the 17th century and reached its climax in 1636; English practice in the growing of bulbs was then dictated by that of Holland, and this has been the position ever since. As an addition to the fruit-garden the modern, large red strawberry was evolved from large varieties introduced from Chile and Carolina by way of Holland in the early 18th century;

about the same time the Dutch red currant came to be esteemed above the English sort.

### 7. 3.

A considerable group of words are terms for agricultural implements, tools, and gear of various kinds. **Hack** (13.., *Cursor M.*), a tool for breaking and chopping up, variously applied to agricultural tools of the mattock, hoe, and pickaxe type; the word is not found in OE. or ON.; perhaps ad. M.Du. *hacke* (in Kilian *hacke*, Du. *hak*), hoe, mattock, pickaxe, chop. **Hepe** (1390, Gower), a

curved pruning-knife; appears first in Gower in a proverbial expression, 'so what with hepe and what with crok', and so is probably much earlier in Eng. than the first recorded date; probably from Low Dutch, which has M.Du. and MLG. *hepe*, e.mod.Du. *heepe*, Du. *heep*, sickle-shaped pruning knife or bill.

**Sye** (1468), a sieve, strainer; this sb. may be from the vb. *syē* (OE. *sēōn*), to sift, or ad. M.Du. *syē*, *sie*, or ON. *sía*. **Sift** (1490, *Pr. Parv.*) in the sense, a sieve; perhaps ad. M.Du. *sifte*, *zifte* (Du. *zift*, M.Du. and MLG. *sichte*). **Sight** (1559), a sieve or strainer; perhaps ad. LG. *sichte*. It is possible that *sift* and *sight* are the same word with divergent pronunciations. **Sighting** (1559), the result of straining, strained matter; perhaps ad. LG. *sichting*, vbl. sb. from *sichten*, to sift.

**Hame** (1303, R. Brunne), each of the two curved pieces of wood or metal placed over, fastened to, or forming the collar of a draught horse; it corresponds to and is perhaps ad. M.Du. *hame*, *haem* (Du. *haam*). **Slead** (1374), sled, sledge; ad. M.Du. or MLG. *slede* (Du. *slede*, *slee*, LG. *slede*, *släde*, *slee*). **Brake** (1412-20, Lydgate), a bridle or curb; O.E.D. states that it is perhaps identical with *brake*, a lever or handle for working a machine, or an extended use of *break* (see

**Brake**, p. 121), or more probably ad. M.Du. *braeke*, in the sense of 'a nose-ring for a draught ox'; *Mnl. Wdb.* has M.Du. *brake*, chain, curb, and the word may be directly from this. **Slipe** (c. 1470), a sledge or drag; apparently ad. LG. *slîpe*, a variant of the usual *slêpe*, sledge, train. **Spancel** (1610), sb. and vb., a rope or fetter for hobbling cattle, horses, &c., esp. a short, noosed rope for fettering the hind legs of a cow when milking; ad. Flem., Du., or LG. *spanseel* (Kilian *spanssel*), from *spannen*, to span, clasp.

**Wan** (1615), a winnowing fan; (1825, Brockett, *N.C. Gloss.*), the sail of a windmill, van; commonly spelt 'wand', the word being wrongly supposed to be a corruption of *wand*, a rod; perhaps ad. Du. *wanne*, now *wan*.

**Beguel** (1737), O.E.D. says that this word is ad. Du. *beugel*, iron hoop or ring, bow, cramp iron; this is quite possible, but Bense has failed to find it as a Du. or Flem. term 'in connection with hops', in which sense it is used in the only quotation in O.E.D., from Miller's *Gard. Dict.*; the only senses in which it appears to be used in connexion with agriculture in Du. and Flem. are 'part of plough' and 'a hoop used in making hayricks'.

**Cavie** (1756, from Sc.), a hencoop, house for fowls; apparently ad. M.Du. *kevie* (Du. and Flem. *kevie*, Plantijn has also *kavie*), cage, coop.

**Scaife** (1793), a thin iron wheel, sharp at the edge, used in some ploughs in place of or in front of the coulter; perhaps ad. Du. *schijf*, disk, wheel. **Scuffle** (1798), scuffler; (1841), a gardener's thrust hoe; ad. Du. *schoffel*, weeding hoe.

**Dannocks** (a. 1825, from E. Anglia), the forms are *darnocks* and *dannocks*; hedge gloves made of untanned leather; Forby prefers the form *darnocks* and says that it is a corruption of *Dorneck*, *Dornick*, the Flem. name for Tournai.

#### 7. 4.

The following group is of terms dealing with farm crops and weeds. **Finkle** (c. 1265), fennel; ME. *fenecel*, ultimately from L. *faeniculum*, but the immediate source is probably Low Dutch, from M.Du. *venekel*, also *veenkel*, *vinkel*, *veneco(o)* (Du. *vinkel*).

**Crap** (c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.*), the husk of grain, chaff, &c.; (c. 1425), the name of some plant, buckwheat, and various weeds among corn, as darnel, charlock; (1490-9, *Pr. Parv.*), the residue formed in rendering, boiling or melting, fat; O.E.D. states that the word is identical with e.mod.Du. *krappe*, 'carptus, carptura, res decerpta, frustum decerptum sive abscissum, pars abrasa sive abscissa, pars carnis abscissa, crustum, ofella, offula, placenta, pulpamentum' (Kilian), and connected with *krappen*, to pluck off, cut off, separate, and compares E. *crape*, OF. *crappe*,

siftings, also the grain trodden under foot in the barn and mingled with the straw and dust; O.E.D. observes that it is doubtful whether all the senses belong to one word, though a common notion of 'rejected or left matter, residue, dregs, dust' runs through them; M.Du. *crappe*, *crap* meant in general 'roast meat', but Du. *krap* has also the senses a part broken or torn off a larger whole, residue formed in rendering fat, grains which remain among the chaff, coal cinders; it is probable that M.Du. had some of these senses, though not

recorded, and if this is so, it is likely that the ME. word was borrowed from M.Du.; the only sense difficult to account for is that of 'the name of some plant and of various weeds', and this may be a different word.

**Fimble** (1484, from Wigtoft, Boston), the male plant of hemp, producing a weaker, shorter fibre; ad. Du. *femel* (LG. *finel*), ad. F. (*chanvre*) *femelle*, lit. 'female hemp', this name being popularly applied to what modern botanists call the male plant.

**Succory** (1533), the plant found wild in England; its leaves and roots are used medicinally and for food; an alteration of *cicoree*, *sycory*, *sichorie*, old forms of *chicory*, after MLG. *suckerie*, or M.Du. *sûkerie* (Du. *suikerei*, older Flem. *suykerey*), succory. **Rape** (1548), a plant name used for rape and for cole-seed; ad. L. *rāpum*, *rāpa*, a turnip, but in the obsolete sense of turnip perhaps partly from Du. *raap*, turnip, rape. **Spurrey, Spurry** (1577, B. Googe, *Heresbach's Husb.*), one or other of a species of herbaceous plants or weeds belonging to the genus *Spergula*, esp. the common species, corn spurrey, occasionally used as fodder for sheep and cattle; ad. Du. *spurrie* (M.Du. *sporie*, older Flem. *speurie*, *spurie*). **Amelcorn** (1578, Lyte, *Dodoens*), an inferior variety of wheat, the larger spelt, called also French rice; ad. Du. *amelkorn*, from L. *amyl-um* and *corn*.

A term of hop cultivation is **Bell** (sb. 1594, vb. 1574), the strobile, cone, or catkin containing the female flowers of the hop; hops are said to be or begin to be in bell; the fact that in England these words are used of hops, which are chiefly grown in Kent, makes it very probable that the word was introduced there by Flemish labourers; in Flanders the word *bel*, in the same sense, is used not only of hops but also of oats, at least in Brabant (Bense).

**Cabbage-cole** (1579), cabbage; it is possible that the Eng. *cabbage-cole* was really ad. Du. *kabuis-kool* (from F. *cabus*, from *choux cabus*, from L. *caput-ceum*, from *caput*, head), influenced by F. *caboche*, a derivative of *caput*. **Gherkin** (1661, Pepys), a young, green cucumber used for pickling; ad. e.mod.Du. *\*gurkkijn*, *\*agurkkijn*, now *gurkje*, *agurkje*, diminutives of *agurk*, *augurk*, also *gurk*, cucumber.

**Abele** (1681), the white poplar-tree; ad. Du. *abeel*, *abeel-boom*, ad. OF. *abel*, earlier *aubal*, *albel*, Nth. F. *aubiel*, from late L. *albellus*, diminutive of *albus*, white; 'a finer sort of white poplar which

the Dutch call abele was transported here from Holland' (Bradley, *Farm Dict.*); the form 'abele-tree' in Worlidge, *Syst. Agric.* (1681), probably translates Du. *abeel-boom*; the name 'Dutch beech' was formerly used in England for the *abele*.

**Borecole** (1712), a variety of cabbage; probably ad. Du. *boerenkool*; there can be little doubt as to its Du. origin, for it is first used by Arbuthnot in his *Hist. John Bull* in reference to what the children of Nic. Frog, i.e. Holland, live upon.

**Crap** (1721), madder, esp. the commercial product obtained by grinding the inner part of the root; ad. Du. *krap* (M.Du. *crappe*).

One term which reflects the great Dutch mania of bulb cultivation is **Bybloemen** (1764), one of the main varieties of the garden tulip; *bijbloemen* is not recorded in any Du. dictionary, but Mr. E.H. Kuelage of Haarlem informed Bense that tulips called *violetten* or *bijbloemen* are white shaded with violet and are in England sometimes called *bybloemens*, with a double plural in ignorance of the Dutch; these were the tulips which were the subject of a speculation in Holland till 1636, and had another temporary vogue towards the end of the 18th century; the first quotation in the O.E.D.

is in 1843, but 'Bybloomen tulips' is found in J. Justice's *British Gardener's Director*, p. 316, and 'Byblomen' in J. Maddock's *The Florist's Directory*, 1764 and 1810 respectively (Bense).

**Pulls** (1788, W. Marshall), the chaff or husks of rape-seed, pulse or grain; apparently ad. Du. *peul* (M.Du. *pole*, *peule*, *puele*), husk, shell, pod. **Noll-kholl** (1812), the turnip-cabbage, kohlrabi; ad. Du. *knolkool* or G. *knollenkohl*. **Witloof** (1885), chicory, succory; ad. Du. *witloof*, from *wit*, white, and *loof*, leaf.

## 7. 5.

There remains a large group of miscellaneous terms of farming, dealing chiefly with various farming and gardening operations and with the raising of stock.

The terms of farming operations are: **Sod**, sb. (c. 1420), a piece or slice of earth with the grass growing on it, cut out or pared off from the surface of grass land; apparently ad. M.Du. *sode*, *soode* (Du. *zode*) or MLG. *sode* (LG. *sode*, *sudde*). The vb. **Sod** (1653) is from the sb.; to cover or build up with sods or turfs; of. M.Du. *soden*, *zoden*, LG. *soden*, *söden*, to make sods, lay with sods. Perhaps a term in the manuring of land is **Cauk** (c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.*), chalk, lime; it is not clear whether *calk*,

*cauk* is simply the northern form of *chalk*, OE. *cealc*, or adopted independently from Low Dutch (M.Du. *calc*, Du. *kalk*).

The terms of stock-raising are: **Spane** (13.., *Cursor M.*), to wean; (1828), to take root and cast off the seed; ad. OF. *espanir* or M.Du. and MLG. *spanen* (MLG. also *sponen*), apparently related to OE. *spana*, *spona*, teat; for the secondary sense compare W.Flem. *spanen*, *spenen*, *spennen*, to set (of fruit). **Spean** (1595), to wean; this may be a later form of *spane* or independently ad. M.Du. or MLG. *spenen* (Du. and Flem. *spenen*, LG. *spenen*, *spänen*). **Clyre, Clyer, Clier** (1794, from Sc.), a glandular swelling, usually in the plural, as a name of a disease of cattle; corresponds to and may be ad. M.Du. *cliere*, Du. *klier*, gland, glandular swelling. **Sprue** (1825, Jamieson), thrush; (1888), a disease occurring esp. in tropical countries, psilosis; ad. Du. *spruw*, *sprouw* (older Flem. *sprouwe*, W.Flem. *sproe*, LG. and MLG. *sprüwe*).

There is one term of poultry-raising: **Pip** (c. 1440), a disease of poultry; apparently ad. M.Du. *pippe* (Du. *pip*, MLG. and E.Fris. *pip*, LG. *pipp*).

A few names were borrowed for breeds of pigeons and rabbits. **Antwerp** (1839), a variety of homing or carrier pigeon; from the name of the Belgian city. **Smerle** (1869), a variety of the domestic pigeon; ad. Flem. *smerle*, probably a special application of older *smerle*, now *smerlijn*, merlin. **Beveren** (1919), a breed of rabbit; from the name of the town in Belgium.

There are two gardening terms. **Slip** (1495), a twig for grafting or planting; (1582), a young person, esp. of slender build; (1440, *Pr. Parv.*) edge, skirt, or flap of garment; apparently ad. M.Du. or MLG. *slippe* (Du. and Flem. *slip*, LG. *slip*, *slippe*), cut, slit, strip, lappet, skirt; the first sense of the English word, however, is not recorded in any of these languages. **Spit** (1507-8, from Suffolk), such a depth of earth as is pierced by the full length of a spade-blade; ad. M.Du. or MLG. *spit* (Du., LG., and W.Fris. *spit*).

The following are agricultural terms which admit of no further classification. **Bower** (c. 1430, Lydgate), a peasant, husbandman; ad. M.Du. *bouwer*. A later form is **Boor** (1551); in its literary use the modern Eng. *boor* is probably from LG. *bûr*, or Du. *boer*, and not from OE. *gebûr*, which survives only in *neighbour*; the original sense 'peasant, countryman' is now obsolete except in the sense 'a peasant, rustic with lack of refinement'

implied, a country clown'; the word was also used for a Dutch colonist in South Africa and Guiana, but *Boer* is the form now employed. The feminine of *boor* is **Boorinn** (1649, once), from Du. *boerin*, a peasant woman.



## Chapter VIII

### The Work of the Low Dutch in Reclaiming and Draining Land, and its Influence on English Vocabulary

#### 8. 1. **8. 1.**

THE pioneers in marsh reclamation in northern Europe were the men of Flanders and Holland, and in Flanders there appeared, about 1150, the first polders, that is, diked land reclaimed from the sea. The Flemings and Hollanders did not confine their activities to their own countries; bands of peasants were setting out, by the beginning of the 12th century, to drain the Mooren on the banks of the Elbe. It is extremely probable that the Flemings who settled in England in such numbers undertook the draining and clearing of the lands allotted to them, and although such drainage could not have been on an extensive scale, it was nevertheless likely to introduce new words.

By the 15th century the Dutch had become the leading drainage and harbour engineers in Europe, and for the next two centuries there is record of their being called to England for consultation and to undertake schemes of reclamation and harbour construction. In 1410 a Hollander was employed to work on the sluice at Romney, and Flemish masons constructed a sluice and dam at Boston in 1500. In the reign of Henry VIII a Brabanter, Cornelius Vanderdelft, was employed to drain the Stepney Marshes outside London. By reason of the expansion of the English fleet and merchant shipping in the reign of Elizabeth considerable works were carried out in the harbour at Dover; Flemish workmen were employed upon them, and the Brabant engineer Humphrey Bradley was consulted. This man afterwards interested himself in the drainage of the Norfolk Fens and brought forward his suggestions in a pamphlet entitled *A Discourse of Humphrey Bradley, a Brabanter, concerning the Fens of Norfolk*. Foreigners were again consulted about the reclamation of parts of Holland in Lincolnshire, but a practical attempt to drain a part of the Fens in the reign of James I failed.

No attempt at reclamation on a really big scale had yet been made; for the draining of land is a most costly process and needs

**8. 1.** A.I. 181, 208-11; Pirenne, 81-2; *D.N.B.* art. 'Vermuyden, Sir Cornelius'.

the backing of large funds. These were at length forthcoming from the powerful body of alien financiers who had made a position for themselves in the city of London. These Dutch capitalists financed the schemes, and the great Dutch engineer Cornelius Vermuyden, a native of the island of Tholen in Zeeland, was called in to direct the work. He had been employed in 1621 to repair the breaches which the Thames had made in its banks at Havering and Dagenham in Essex and to drain the marshes. In 1626 he entered into agreement with Charles I for his first big undertaking, the draining of Hatfield Chase in the isle of Axholme, a district of about 70,000 acres of fen, subject to inundation from the Don, Ouse, and Trent. Additional financial backing was obtained from Amsterdam and Dordrecht, and Vermuyden brought over Dutch workmen for the execution of his plans.

The drainage schemes met with bitter opposition from the fenmen, whose common rights were taken away, and whose occupations of fishing and fowling were destroyed, and the feeling was aggravated by the general English dislike for foreign workmen. The Dutch were attacked from the outset, and their embankments were cut as soon as they were built. Vermuyden became



discouraged and sold his interest to the French engineer Gibbon, who brought in Picards and Normans to work alongside the Dutch. The attacks of the fenmen culminated in the great riot of 1650-1, when 82 houses and the church at the Dutch settlement in the isle of Axholme were destroyed, and quiet was not completely restored for several years.

Many of the Dutchmen now removed to the Great Fens in Cambridgeshire and settled first at Whittlesea and then at Thorney Abbey, where they founded a church in 1652. Vermuyden used these workmen on his schemes for draining the 'Great Fens', afterwards the Bedford Level, which he described as 'a great continent of 400,000 acres' lying within Lincolnshire, Northants., Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire. The first scheme was under the patronage of the Earl of Bedford and others and was not very successful, largely because the funds ran out and because interruption came through the outbreak of civil war. The undertaking was resumed after the war, and Vermuyden was again appointed engineer after competition with another Dutch engineer Westerdyke. Here also the workmen had to contend with the violent opposition of the

fenmen, who destroyed drains and sluices. The final effort upon Vermuyden's plans was made in 1649, and the work was completed in 1652.

A smaller scheme for the reclamation of Canvey Island in Essex was carried out by Dutch workmen under the direction of Croppenbergh, and the settlers built a church for themselves in 1641.

## 8. 2.

In the Middle English period a number of words appear which deal with the drainage of land and the construction of ditches. **Groop** (c. 1330, R. Brunne), to dig a trench; (1412-20, Lydgate), to groove, hollow out, incise. The sb. is later, **Groop** (c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.*), the drain or gutter in a stable or cowshed, a small trench, ditch; (c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.*), a groove, mortice; ad. M.Du. *groepe* (Du. *groep*, LG. *gröpe*).

**Spay** (1415), a sluice; ad. M.Flem. *speye* (Kilian *spije*, W.Flem. *speie*, *spei*, related to M.Flem. *spoye*, Flem. and Du. *spui*), in the same sense. **Spayer** (1450), a sluice; from the above and -*er*. **Wilkin** (1495), a ram, a pile-driving engine; perhaps originally a proper name, probably of Du. or LG. origin, *Willekin*, diminutive of *Willem*.

In the modern period we get the following terms. A most difficult word is **Suds**, sb. plur. (1548), dregs, leavings, filth, muck; (1599), flood-water, the water of the fens, water mixed with drift-sand and mud, drift-sand left by a flood; (1581), water impregnated with soap for washing; (1592), foam, froth; O.E.D. states that with the existing evidence it is difficult to establish the chronology of the senses and suggests that perhaps the sense 'flood-water' is the original, in which case the immediate source may be MLG. and M.Du. *sudde* or M.Du. *sudse* (Kilian *zudse*), marsh, bog. **Scut** (1561), of doubtful meaning, but probably an embankment; perhaps ad. e.mod.Du. *schut*, *schutte*, an embankment.

There are two terms for drainage officials. **Dike-grave** (1563), in Holland, an officer whose function it is to take charge of the dikes or sea-walls; in England (esp. in Lincs.), an officer who has charge of the drains, sluices, and sea-banks of a district under the Court of Sewers; ad. M.Du. *dijcgrave* (Du. *dijkgraaf*), from *dijk*, dike, and *grave*, count. **Dike-reeve**, **Dyke-reeve** (1665), of similar meaning; from *dike* and *reeve*, but perhaps an alteration of *dike-grave*, -*greave* by identifying its final part with Eng. *reeve* as in *port-reeve*.

**Put-gally** (1584-5), a bascule or lever fixed on a high fulcrum and having a counterpoise on the handle, by means of which water is lifted from a pit or well; ad. Du. and Flem. *putgalg*, a bascule to raise water from a well; in Hexham *put-galge*, 'a swipe to draw up water out of a well', in Kilian *put-galge*, from *put*, well, pit, and *galge*, gallows, post of a draw-well.

**Rode** (1616, in W.H. Wheeler, *Hist. Fens*), to clear a dike or stream from weeds; probably ad. e.mod.Du. *roden*, *roeden* (Kilian, LG. *roden*, *raden*), to root out, extirpate. **Sasse** (1642, Sir C. Vermuyden, *Disc. Draining Fens*), a lock; ad. Du. *sas*, which is probably also the source of F. *sas*, of the same meaning. **Rode** (1662, Dugdale, *Imbanking and Draining*), a certain length of dike; probably ad. Du. *roede*, measuring rod (of 10 feet long).

**Camp-shot** (1691), the facing of poles and boarding along the bank of a river to protect it from the action of the current; O.E.D. states that the term has been plausibly conjectured to be Du. or Flem. with the second element *schot*, boarding; \**kant-schot* would be side-boarding, but no trace of this or any similar compound is found in those languages, although the thing is well known there and is called *schoeiing*, i.e. shoeing; Bense would derive it from M.Du. *camp*, *campe*, field, and *schot*, boarding, influenced by *schut*, embankment, and so 'the fence or boarding' which protects the field extending along the river from the influence of the water; it is noteworthy that Dutch workmen were employed in the 17th century in improving the banks of the Thames.

**Risbank** (1731), an artificial bank, properly one faced and strengthened with brushwood; ad. Du. *rijlsbank*, from *rijls*, rice, brushwood, and *bank*.

**Dale** (1851), an outlet drain in the Fen country; probably from Du. *daal*, a tube or trough for carrying off water; the same word as **Dale**, p. 77. **Grift** (1851), a channel shaped out by water for itself; perhaps ad. Du. *grift*, channel.



## Chapter IX

### The Low Dutch and the Manufacture of Cloth

#### 9. 1. 9. 1.

It is curious that most modern writers on economics, such as Ashley and Cunningham, have assumed that the English cloth trade practically started with the introduction of Flemish weavers by Edward III. It is constantly asserted that before this the cloth made in England was of very poor quality and entirely for home consumption, and that the industry had but little organization.

Salzman has shown, however, that the cloth trade was highly organized much earlier, and that, while a large proportion of the cloths were certainly coarse, fine cloths such as the Lincoln and Stamford scarlets had early attained fame. An examination of the vocabulary of clothworking certainly supports the conclusions of Salzman, for the Low Dutch element in it is surprisingly small, whereas if the Flemish influence had been as great as is commonly assumed, we should expect a larger proportion of Low Dutch words.

Flemish influence, however, can be postulated from an early date. Flemish weavers seem to have settled in the towns which grew up around the new Norman castles after the Conquest. Drogo of Bruere, a Fleming, obtained a large grant of land at Beverley from the Conqueror, and there was soon a settlement of Flemish weavers in that town, where they have given their name to the Flemingate. 'Gilbert the Weaver and Baldwin the Tailor' are names figuring in the list of settlers around the new abbey of Battle, and the names and trades seem to mark them down as Flemings. The evidence as to the gilds of weavers in London, Winchester, Marlborough, Beverley, and Lincoln, and the special disabilities of the weavers and dyers seem to show that they were aliens organized as a separate community under the protection of the crown. When in 1270 the wool trade to Flanders was interrupted, Henry III sought to induce Flemish weavers to settle in England, and with some success; for when a little later he issued orders to all Flemings to leave the country, he excepted 'those workmen, who with our leave shall come into our land to make cloths'. The Norfolk worsted industry

9. 1. A.I. 37-8, 102, 105-7, 116, 128, 132; I.C. I. 304-9, 341, 431; Salz. 197-205, 239; Green, 88.

was founded at some date prior to 1315, probably with some settlement of Flemish weavers at the village of Worstead.

In the reign of Edward III it was evident that there was something wrong with the English cloth trade, and it was fortunate that the king's foreign policy gave the key to the solution of the industrial difficulties. Edward wished to damage the trade of Flanders and to that end did his best to hinder the export of wool and to revivify the English cloth trade so as to be independent of Flanders. Either in order to remedy the defects of the native cloth or with the deliberate intention of building up a cloth-making industry to compete with Flanders, he now adopted the policy of encouraging foreign experts to settle in the country. The conditions of the time were exceedingly favourable, for conditions in the Low Countries were very disturbed; the craftsmen in the Flemish towns were oppressed by the merchant companies, and, moreover, there was hostility between the weavers of the towns and those of the country districts, so that the latter were frequently deprived of their wool supply. Emigration to England would entirely solve this difficulty. As early as 1331 special protection was granted to John Kemp of Flanders and any other clothworkers who wished to come over. In 1337 the king sent Thomas de Kenelyngworth to bring John Belle and other clothworkers to England, and later in the same year protection was granted to Nicholas Appelman, dyer, and to other dyers and fullers who had come over with him and were exercising their trades at Winchester. Similar protection was granted in 1343 to John de Bruyn, 'burgess of Ghent', who was making cloth at Abingdon, while in 1352 a general proclamation was made that foreign clothmakers were not to be interfered with or compelled to join any gild. Such protection was necessary, as it was only natural that the weavers already established in the country should resent the introduction of so many skilled craftsmen into their own trades. Eventually the Flemings and Brabanters in London formed for their protection a weavers' gild of their own. This jealousy sprang up afresh with every new batch of entrants, and the murder of Flemings at Snettisham and Yarmouth was perhaps due to industrial rivalry. Thomas Blanket, who had set up looms and brought over workmen for manufacture on a large scale at Bristol, was seriously interfered with in 1340. Alien workmen continued to

come in during the 15th century (no less than 1,738 were naturalized in 1436), and the ill feeling steadily grew till it culminated in an organized attack on their foreign rivals by the apprentices and journeymen of London on Evil May Day, 1517.

Very little appears to be ascertainable about the history of linen weaving in England in the Middle Ages. That it was carried on fairly extensively is evident from casual references, and important centres seem to have been Wilton, Hereford, and Norwich. The vocabulary shows that the Low Dutch had some influence on this manufacture, and we know that Flemish linen weavers were introduced in 1253 and again in the reign of Edward III.

It seems probable that it is to the 15th century, and especially to the time of James I, that we are to attribute the large immigration of weavers into Scotland, which undoubtedly took place at some time or other. They bear the name Brabanters in not a few towns, and they appear to have migrated before the religious struggles of the 16th century. The walkers and litsters may be survivals of a previous immigration, though their incorporation in the year 1500 would point to their increasing importance.

## **9. 2. 9. 2.**

The next great immigration of foreign clothworkers comes in the 16th and 17th centuries as the result of the religious persecutions of the Spaniards in the Netherlands. The industrial arts improved or introduced by these refugees are numerous. They attempted to introduce a linen manufacture, e.g. at Stamford; but for some reason this industry has never been properly acclimatized in England. Their chief influence, however, was on the manufacture of woollens, worsted, serges, and bays, and the impetus which they gave to the industry caused it to develop very rapidly, so that an export trade soon sprang up and the manufacture was widely diffused. A

beginning can be traced to the immigration of 406 persons, driven out of Flanders in 1561, some of whom settled at Sandwich and Canterbury, while 30 families settled at Norwich, a town which was still suffering from the consequences of Kett's rebellion. The most important centre, however, was Colchester; for this was an industrially organized colony manufacturing the fine cloth known as bays, sackcloth, needles, and parchment. This Flemish

**9. 2.**A.I. 143, 171, 177-80, 183-4, 212; I.C. II. 82-3, 330.

colony appears to have flourished on the whole; James I continued their privileges and they were protected in the exercise and the regulation of their trades, so that the manufacture of bays continued to be important and the cloth which they produced an important article of export. Their trade began to decline in the 18th century under the competition of imported cotton fabrics.

It is highly probable that cotton weaving was also started by these refugees. This had been a flourishing industry at Antwerp, a port where the necessary materials were easily procurable from Egypt. The beginnings in England are very obscure; but it is significant that it began to attract attention as an important trade in Manchester in the early part of the 17th century and that the rise of the manufacture in Lancashire appears to follow very closely on its decline at Antwerp. There is at least the considerable possibility of ascribing the development to the immigration of refugees. After the sack of Antwerp in 1585 we know that many of the inhabitants fled to England, and the same period marks a great growth in the population of Manchester.

Low Dutch influence is apparent also in minor branches of the weaving trade. Under Henry VIII Dutch tapestry weavers settled in London, and there were others of the same trade at the Court. The introduction of lace-making is also attributed to refugees from the Low Countries. Flemish names figure in the church registers of Honiton at the end of the 17th century, and many others of the same extraction are to be found in Bedfordshire; tradition assigns a Flemish origin to the manufacture at Newport Pagnell, Stony Stratford, Aylesbury, and Northampton, and indeed these laces are of old Flemish design. The trade was flourishing in Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, and Devon in 1650, and in 1626 a school for teaching the art had been established at Great Marlow. There were many attempts in the 17th century to improve the art of dyeing in England; in 1643 a dyehouse was started at Bow by a Dutchman, Kepler, whose scarlet dye soon had a high reputation; in 1667 it was further improved by Bauer, a man of Flemish origin, and thenceforward there was no real necessity to export undyed cloth. There was still room for improvement in West Country weaving, and Paul Methuen and Willem Brewer brought over Dutch families to Dutch Barton, near Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire.

In Scotland at this period James VI was desirous of encouraging the cloth trade, and in 1587 an Act was passed in favour of three Flemish weavers who sought leave to set up their looms. A sum of money was granted for the furtherance of the scheme, and the settlers were to be exempted from taxation and town dues; naturalization was to be granted them and permission to establish a church. In 1588 other Flemings seem to have come over, and in 1600 liberty was granted for the settlement of a hundred clothworkers. In the following summer Bischof, a refugee, agreed to come from Norwich to work in Edinburgh, and twelve weavers were received from Leyden at Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Ayr. Attention has been called to the fact that many names at Muthill and Perth are of Flemish origin, and also that many manorial flour mills were utilized for fulling at this period.

### 9. 3.

The following terms used in the spinning, weaving, and preparation of woollen cloth appear in Middle English. **Rock** (c. 1310, *Northern Poem*), a distaff; in the 14th and 15th centuries *rokke*; the word corresponds to M.Du. *rocke* (Du. *rok*) and MLG. *rocken*, but it is not clear whether the word is native English or a later adoption from Low Dutch. **Clack** (1429), to remove the dirty parts, esp. the tarry mark or 'buist' from a fleece of wool; O.E.D. states that it was originally a Flemish

word of the wool trade; Kilian has *klacken*, 'detergere lutum', used in Flanders for *kladden*, *afkladden*, and also a sb. *klacke*, 'macula luti'; according to *Mnl. Wdb.* the sb. *clacke*, 'klad, vlek', was not known in M.Du.

**Nap** (c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.*), originally the rough layer of projecting threads on the surface of a woollen or other textile fabric; in the 15th and 16th centuries *noppe*; ad. M.Du. or MLG. *noppe*, related to the vb. *noppen*, to nap; there is no evidence for the OE. *hnoppa* given by Somner.

**Nopster** (c. 1481, Caxton), a woman who puts a nap on cloth; ad. M.Du. *nopster*, from the vb. *noppen*. The vb. itself is later, **Nap** (c. 1483, Caxton, 1483, *Cath. Angl.*), to trim cloth by shearing the nap; in the 15th and 16th centuries *noppe*; ad. M.Du. or MLG. *noppen*. **Nappy** (1499, *Pr. Parv.*), having a nap, downy, shaggy; ad. M.Du. *noppigh* (Du. *noppig*) or MLG. *noppich*, from *noppe*, nap.

**Selvage, Selvedge** (c. 1460), the edge of a piece of woven material finished in such a manner as to prevent the ravelling out of the wool; apparently from *self* and *edge*, after the

equivalent e.mod.Du. *selfegghe* (Kilian), now *zelfegge*, LG. *sulfegge*; compare the Du. synonyms cited by Kilian, *selfkant*, now *zelfkant*, *selfende*, now *zelfende*.

Fulling terms are: **Walker** (c. 1290, *Beket*), one who fulls cloth, a fuller; OE. *wealcere* occurs once as a gloss for *fullo* (c. 1050, in *Voc. in Wr.-Wü.*), but it is probable that the word was reintroduced from Low Dutch in the 13th century from M.Du. or MLG. *walker*. **Walk-mill** (1359, *Mem. Ripon*), a fulling mill; from *walk* and *mill*. **Walk** (14.., 1437), to subject woollen cloth to the operation of beating or pressing in order to cause felting of the fibres and consequent thickening and shrinking; originally identical with the vb. *walk*, to walk, step, but the sense 'to full cloth' is not recorded in English before the 14th century, though prominent in other Teutonic languages; OE. had the agent noun *wealcere*, but it is possible that the corresponding sense of the Teutonic verb had not survived into OE. and that the late ME. *walke* is either a back formation from the agent noun or an adoption from M.Du. or MLG. *walken*.

Some terms of woollen weaving and the preparation of cloth were introduced in the modern period. **Buckety** (1548), according to Jamieson a corruption of 'buckwheat' and the name of a paste used by weavers in Scotland in dressing their webs (see **Buckwheat**). **Bay** (1581), baize, originally a fabric of a finer and lighter texture than now, the manufacture of which was introduced into England in the 16th century by fugitives from the Netherlands and France; usually in the plural, whence the corruption **Baize** (1578); ad. F. *baie* or its Du. representative *baai*, from F. *bai*, *baie*, the colour bay; also in many combs., as Bayhall (1684), a hall in Colchester, used as an exchange by traders in this commodity.

**Spill** (1594), a small cylinder upon which yarn is wound, a spool; (1594), a rod or stalk of wood, metal, &c.; apparently ad. Du. *spil* (M.Du. *spille*) or LG. (and MLG.) *spille*, spindle, axis, pin, stalk.

**Scraw** (c. 1563, from Canterbury), a frame on which textile fabrics are hung to dry; perhaps ad. Du. *schraag*, trestle.

**Scribble** (1687), to card or tease wool coarsely, to pass through a scribbler; probably from LG.; compare the synonymous G. *schrubbeln*, *schrobbeln*, *schruppeln*, Sw. *skrabbla*; the verb is a frequentative from LG. and G. *schrubben*, *schrobben* (see **Scrub**). Derivatives which, however, appear earlier are

**Scribbler** (1682), a person who scribbles wool, and **Scribbling** (1682), the first process in the operation of carding wool.

A term of dyeing is **Slip** (1667), the powder found in the trough of cutlers' grindstones and used in dyeing; apparently ad. older Flem. *slip* (Kilian) or MLG. *slip*, related to Flem. and Du. *slippen*, to polish, sharpen; this word may equally well have come in as a term of the cutler's trade.

The terms of the preparation of flax and hemp and of the weaving of linen are surprisingly numerous in view of the scarcity of evidence of Low Dutch influence on this industry. **Swingle** (c. 1325), a wooden instrument resembling a sword used for beating and scraping flax and hemp so as to cleanse it of woody or coarse particles; ad. M.Du. *swinghel*, swingle for flax (corresponding in form to OE. *swingell*, swingle, stroke or stripe with a rod, whipping, scourge, whip; also once, swingle or distaff) or partly ad. MLG. *swengel*, bell-clapper, pump-handle, swipe (M.Du. *swenghel*, swipe, Du. *zwengel*, swingle), which would account for the secondary senses (c. 1440), the striking part or swipple of a flail, and (14.., *Voc.*, *Wr.-Wü.*), the clapper of a bell. **Swingle**, vb. (c. 1325), to beat or scrape with a swingle, to scutch; ad. M.Du. *swinghelen*, from *swinghel*, swingle.

**Rib** (c. 1340), a flat iron tool used for cleaning flax after the breaking process; in the 14th century *ribbe*, perhaps ad. MLG. *ribbe-*, *ribb-(îs)* (LG. *ribbe-îsen*, *-îsder*). The vb. is half a century later, **Rib** (1393), to rub or scrape flax or hemp with a flat iron tool; from the sb., but cf. Du. and LG. *ribben*.

**Ret** (c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.*), to soak, esp. flax or hemp, in water in order to soften or season; the East Anglian form *ret* (earlier *retten*, *reten*), is perhaps from M.Du. *reeten*, *reten*, but the Northern forms *rayt*, *rait*, *rate*, seem to indicate an ON. *\*reyta* (Norw. *røyta*, Sw. *röta*, Da. *røde*).

**Brake** (c. 1450), a toothed instrument for braking flax or hemp; (c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.*), a baker's kneading-machine; (1534), in brewing and similar processes, a wooden mill to crush green fruits, hops, &c.; ad. MLG. *brake* or M.Du. *braeke* (Du. *braak*), a flax-brake (whence F. *braquer*, to brake flax), from Du. *breken*, to break; the form *brakene* in *Pr. Parv.* may represent the plural of the M.Du. or MLG. word; the resemblance of the sb. to the cognate Eng. vb. apparently gave rise to the extension of sense by which 'brake' became a generic term of implements

used for breaking or crushing. The vb. is half a century earlier, **Brake** (1398, Trevisa), but is from the sb.

A term for the finished linen article is **Lake** (c. 1386, Chaucer), fine linen; probably ad. Du. *laken* (M.Du. *laken*, *lakene*, lake), linen.

**Knock, Knok** (1573, once), a bundle of heckled flax; apparently ad. LG. *knocke*, in the same sense.



## Chapter X

### The Low Dutch in the Brewing Industry

#### 10. 1. 10. 1.

FROM Old English times the brewing of malt liquor was universally practised, every village supplying its own wants. The ale of the Middle Ages, however, differed from our modern ales and beers in that it had no other ingredients than malt, water, yeast, and barm; it was rather a sweet wort of the consistency of barley-water.

A new variety of malt liquor was introduced from Flanders at the end of the 14th century, and in the brewing of this new beer hops were used. It seems to have been imported into Winchelsea as early as 1400. At first it was brewed entirely by foreigners and seems to have been consumed mainly by them. The term 'beer' seems to have been applied to this new liquor and the term 'ale' restricted to the older-fashioned brew. This beer was at first very unfavourably regarded, on the grounds that it was not fit to drink and that it caused drunkenness, and so bitter were the attacks made on it that in 1436 a writ had to be addressed to the sheriffs of London to proclaim that all brewers of beer shall continue to brew in spite of the malevolent attacks made to prevent natives of Holland and Zeeland and others from doing so. The consumption of beer soon became



considerable and was due in all likelihood to the large foreign colony in London. When provisions were sent to Henry V at the siege of Rouen in 1418, 300 tuns of 'ber' were sent from London as against 200 tuns of ale.

The brewing of beer was introduced into the Sussex ports by Low Countrymen. In the church of the village of Playder near Winchelsea may still be seen the tomb of Cornelius Zoetmann, with its curious ornamentation of two beer barrels and a crossed mash-stick and fork. By the middle of the 15th century large quantities of hops were being imported into Winchelsea and Rye, and a little later beer was being exported from the Sussex ports and also from the Dorset port of Poole. By 1441 the brewing of beer had become of sufficient importance to demand inspection and control, and inquiries were made as to the regulations in force abroad.

The beer brewers we hear of in the 15th century have almost

**10. 1.** Salz. 285-98; A.I. 217; Abram, 6-7.

all Low Dutch, names; e.g. John Doys of St. Botolphs-outside-Aldgate and Gerard Sconeburgh of Southwark were proceeded against in 1473 for theft; their sureties were Godfrey Speryng and Edward Dewysse, also beer brewers; Henry VII granted letters of denization to Hilary Warner, 'bere-bruer', a native of Germany.

The prejudice against beer was slower in disappearing in the country towns than in London. At Norwich in 1471 the use of hops and 'gawle' in brewing was forbidden; in 1519 the use of the 'wicked and pernicious weed hops' was also prohibited at Shrewsbury; as late as 1531 the royal brewer was forbidden to use hops and 'brimstones'.

In 1531, however, an Act was passed exempting alien brewers from the penal statutes against foreigners practising their trades in England; it also allowed beer brewers to employ two coopers while restricting the ale brewers to one. From this time on the industry grew in importance, and alien brewers, such as the Leakes of Southwark, amassed great wealth. Englishmen now entered the industry, but we still hear of Dutch brewers in the reign of James I. Improvements in the art continued to be brought from the Low Countries; Sebastian Brygonne, a German, set up a new kind of furnace for brewing in the reign of Elizabeth, and a patent for a similar invention was applied for by Stowghberghen.

## **10. 2.**

A few brewing terms of Low Dutch origin appear previous to the introduction of beer brewing at the end of the 14th century. **Scum** (a. 1250, *Prov. of Alfred*, but in this text the word is of doubtful meaning and identity; the first certain occurrence is 1340, *Ayenbite*), foam, froth, bubbles; not from an OE. \**scūm*, or else the Eng. would have had initial *sh-*, nor is it recorded in ON.; the word was probably taken from Low Dutch as a term of brewing; the Low Dutch forms are MLG. *schûm* (whence M.Sw., Sw., Norw., Da. *skum*), M.Du. *schuum*, *schûme* (Du. *schuim*); for the shortening of the vowel in Eng. compare *thumb* and *plum*.

**Gyle-house, Gylhous** (1334-5, *Durh. Acc. Rolls*), a brewhouse. **Gyle-fat** (1341, *Test. Ebor.*), the vat in which wort is left to ferment; the comb. of *gyle* with *fat*, of OE. origin, points to an introduction of *gyle* considerably earlier than its first recorded occurrence. **Gyling** (1411) is used only attributively in *gyling-house*, *-ker*, *-tub*, *-fat*. **Gyle** (1594, *Plat, Jewel Ho.*),

'a brewing', the quantity brewed at one time; (c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.*, 'gylde or newe ale'), wort in process of fermentation; ad. Du. *gijl* (earlier in Kilian *ghijl* is defined as 'chylus, cremor cereuisiae'); appears a century earlier in combs. than as a separate word. **Gyle-ker** (1573, *Lanc. and Chesh. Wills*), a tub or other vessel for holding wort; a comb. of *gyle* and *kier*, from ON. *ker*, a tub.



**Kit** (1375, Barbour), a circular wooden vessel made of hooped staves; apparently ad. M.Du. *kitte*, of the same meaning (Du. *kit*, a tankard).

Two words appear in the 15th century. **Bung** (c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.*), a stopper for the hole in a barrel; O.E.D. compares with M.Du. *bonghe*, a stopper, esp. a large stopper for the mouth of a cask; *bung* is probably from M.Du., and its earliest instance, in the *Pr. Parv.*, is all in favour of this origin. **Keel** (1485, *Naval Acc. Hen. VII*), a tub or vat for holding liquor; probably ad. MLG. *kelle*, a ladle, tub, or M.Du. *kele*, *keel*; this word may have entered English as a sea term of the provisioning of ships.

**Brewery** (1658, Hexham), a house for the purpose of brewing; this word seems to have been a creation of Hexham's after Du. *brouwerije*, which he translates by it; it afterwards found such acceptance as ultimately to supersede the original English *Brewhouse*. **Back** (1682), a large, shallow vessel, chiefly for liquids, a tub, trough, vat, cistern, esp. those used by brewers, dyers, and picklers; ad. Du. *bak* (M.Du. *bac(k)*, ad. F. *bac*), ferryboat, punt, also a trough, basin, mash-tub. **Beck** (1828) is probably a variant of *Back*, though perhaps influenced by Du. *bekken*, basin, bowl.

### 10. 3.

It is curious how many of the terms of brewing are names of vessels used in the industry. These may equally well have come in as terms of the cooper's craft. It is impossible, however, to separate coopering from brewing, of which it was an auxiliary trade. The alien brewers certainly brought over their own coopers with them; in 1523 the coopers were specially mentioned in a statute by which 'no stranger was to have an alien apprentice or to have more than two alien journeymen', and 'they were not to work apart from Englishmen, but in such a fashion that natives might learn all the secrets of their trades'.

**Cooper** (c. 1415), a craftsman who makes and repairs wooden vessels formed of staves and hoops, as casks, buckets, tubs, &c.;

it is not an English derivative of *coop*, which, so far as appears, has never had the sense 'cask'; the word is apparently of Low Dutch origin and may be ad. M.Du. *cuper* or MLG. *kuper*.

**Clapholt** (1477), small pieces of split oak as used by coopers for cask staves; this word probably came in as a term of the timber trade and is there included (see **Clapholt** and **Clapboard**, p. 47). **Howel** (1846), a plane with a convex sole used by coopers for smoothing the insides of casks; probably of LG. origin (M)LG. *hövel* (G. *hobel*). The vb. is from the sb., **Howel** (1864), to smooth with a howel.

### 10. 4.

Three words have entered with the hop trade, **Hop**, **East**, variant of *oast*, and **Cockle**. As hops were imported from abroad for use in brewing before they were cultivated in this country, 'hop' itself is probably a term of brewing, while the other two are terms of the cultivation and preparation of hops.

**Hop** (c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.*), the ripened cones of the female hop plant; usually found in the plural; ad. M.Du. *hoppe* (Du. *hop*). **East** (1491), a kiln, later a kiln for drying malt or hops; the forms are: 15th-century *est*, 17th-century *east* and *eest*, and they exist as a dial. form beside *oast* from OE. *āst*; of Low Dutch origin, probably introduced from Flanders; Du. has *eest*, formerly also *eist*, MLG. *eist*; in the first instance the word may have been a term of malting only, and perhaps must be considered as a term of brewing and not of the hop trade. **Cockle** (1688), the fire chamber or furnace of a hop or malt kiln, also called 'cockle-oast'; (1774), a kind of stove for heating apartments; possibly ad. 16th-century Du. *kakel*, *kaeckel*, *kachel* (Du. *kachel*), a stove, and O.E.D. quotes Kilian and Plantijn in support; the word is probably of much earlier borrowing than the first

record suggests; it is possible that the word was borrowed independently in the two different senses.



## Chapter XI

### Low Dutch Miners in England

#### 11. 1. 11. 1.

THE German miners were for many centuries the most skilled in Europe, and from the end of the 13th century on we find them called in to take part in English mining enterprises. It is often difficult, in some cases impossible, to decide whether the Germans in question were from High or Low Germany, and the title of German or Almaine was frequently given even to Flemings and other Netherlanders.

The most extensive English mining industry in the Middle Ages was for lead and silver. As early as 1314 Herman de Alemannia and other adventurers were mining at Brushford near Dulverton. An interesting instance of the greater skill of the Germans is the case of Thomas de Alemaigne, a silver finer, who petitioned the king to grant him the slag from the Devon mines out of which the native refiners had extracted all the metal they could; this same Thomas was employed by the king in 1324 to dig, cleanse, and examine his mines in Cumberland and Westmorland. In 1359 Tilman de Cologne was working the Alston mines in Cumberland.

In 1475 a company, consisting of the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Northumberland, William Goderswyk, and John Marchall, obtained a grant for fifteen years of the mines of Blaunchlond in Northumberland, Fletchers-in-Alston, and Keswick, and also of the copper mines near Richmond. The company could not have lasted long, for only three years later William Goderswyk, Henry Van Orel, Arnold Van Anne, Albert Millyng of Cologne, and Dederic Van Riswyk of England received a grant for ten years of all mines of gold, silver, copper, and lead in Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, and for this they had to pay one-fifteenth of their profits.

In 1528 Joachim Hochstetter, probably a High German, was appointed chief surveyor and master of the mines of England and Ireland. He brought over six German experts and advised that a foundry should be erected at Combe Martin in North Devon. It was not until the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, however, that mining with English money and German skill was undertaken on a large scale.

**11. 1.** Salz. 65-9, 75; A.I. 116, 122-4, 134, 185, 215; I.C. II. 293; M. 141.

The alien miner was active in Scotland also. In 1511 a Dutchman was employed as smelter in the mine on Crawford Muir. In 1562 James V of Scotland gave mining concessions to some Germans. A series of mining rights in Scotland were granted to Flemings in the 16th century: to Cornelius de Vos in 1567, to Gray Petierson in 1575, to Arnold Bronckhurst in 1580, and to Eustatius Roche in 1583; this last also had a patent granted him for the manufacture of salt. The Keswick Company, too, entered into negotiations for the mining of gold on Crawford Muir. Soon after the Restoration men were introduced from Holland to work in the Keswick mines. It is said that the use of gunpowder for blasting in mines was first introduced by German miners brought over by Prince Rupert to work in the mines at Ecton in Staffordshire.

The mining of tin and copper was confined mainly to Cornwall and Devon. At the end of the 13th century Richard of Cornwall brought in Germans to work in his Cornish mines. In the reign of Queen Mary a melting-house for refining tin was built by Burcord Crangs, a German. In the reign of Elizabeth one Humphrey, a paymaster of the Mint, seems to have interested himself in mining speculations; he had as his partner a German miner, Christopher Shatz, and the field of their operations was chiefly Ireland. By the end of the 16th century copper was being mined extensively in Cornwall, at Treworthy, Perran Sands, St. Just, and Logan, and these mines were worked by

Dutchmen. These men seem to have been paid high wages, and there is an interesting remonstrance from Sir T. Smith which urges that Cornishmen should be employed instead of Dutchmen, as they are willing to work for less wages.

The Cornelius de Vos who was interested in Scottish mining in 1567 obtained permission to work the alum mines in the Isle of Wight. Alum was a commodity necessary to the cloth trade, and it had been practically a papal monopoly; a native supply was extremely welcome, and since de Vos had discovered the beds, he obtained the right to work them.

## 11. 2.

There are a few terms of mining operations. **Groove** (1400-50, 1483, *Mendip Laws*), a mining shaft, mine pit; ad. e.mod.Du. *groeve*, 'sulcus, fosse, scrobs' (Kilian). The vb. is from the sb., **Groove** (1483), to sink a mining shaft; but compare *groeven* in Kilian. **Groover** (1610), a miner; from the sb. *groove* and -er, but Kilian has *groever*.

**Buck** (1683), to break ore very small with a buckler; probably ad. LG. *böken* or Du. *beuken*, to beat, strike (cf. also Du. *boken*, *booken*, with the same senses). **Bucker** (1653), a hammer used in bucking ore; O.E.D. says that this word is from the vb. *buck* and -er, but as it is recorded thirty years earlier than the vb., it is quite possible that it is immediately ad. LG. *böker*, hammer (MLG. *boker*, hammer, sledge), and that the vb. is a back-formation on *bucker*.

**Stack** (1832), a term of coal-mining, chiefly used in the phrase 'to stack out', to dam up or shut up the entrance to a goaf by building a wall in front of it; perhaps ad. LG. *stack*, a dam. The following are terms for mining apparatus and constructions. **Tram** (1500-20, Dunbar), the shaft of a barrow or cart; (1516-17, *Durh. Acc. Rolls*), in coal-mining, a tram; (a. 1734), tramway, a track of wood, stone, or iron; probably of Low Dutch origin and apparently the same word as LG. *traam*, balk, beam, e.g. of a wheelbarrow or dung-sledge, tram, handle of a barrow or sledge, also rung or step of a ladder, bar of a chair, E.Fris. *trame*, *trâm*, with the same senses, MLG. *trame*, *treme*, M.Du. *trame*; balk or beam, rung of a ladder, W.Flem. *traam*, *trame*. The specific sense first found in Sc. is that of 'tram of a barrow', and the further sense development presents many difficulties, chiefly from the scarcity of early examples and the fact that the various senses are from different localities, so that they cannot be taken as showing any general development. The secondary sense, in which tram is a miner's term for the vehicle for carrying coal or ore, may, on the principle of part for whole, have arisen out of 'barrow-tram'. The sense of 'tramway' is more difficult; if it was short for something like 'tram-track', it might have arisen out of the sense 'miner's tram'; if it was primarily applied to the wooden beams or rails as tram-tracks, it might possibly go back to the LG. sense of balk or beam; evidence for this is wanting, but there is a case for considering the sense 'tramway' as a term borrowed in mining, and then the sense 'tram' as having arisen out of it as first 'tram-wagon, tram-barrow', and then simply *tram*.

**Coe** (1653, Manlove, *Lead Mines*), a little hut built over a mine-shaft as a protection to the shaft; the Sc. form *cow* is more etymological and is probably from Du. *kouw* (M.Du. and MLG. *couwe*, *côje*), in the same sense, ad. L. *cavea*, hollow, stall, cage, coop. **Kyle** (1747, Hooson, *Miner's Dict.*), a small iron wedge

used to fasten the head of a pick, hammer, &c.; perhaps ad. LG. *kîl*, *kile*, wedge.

There are a few terms for minerals. **Glance-ore** (1457-8), a kind of lead ore; this is a half-adoption, half-translation of Du. *glanserts* (ad. G. *glanzertz*), from *glans*, lustre, and *erts*, ore. **Spar** (1581), a general term for a number of crystalline minerals more or less lustrous in appearance and admitting of easy cleavage; ad. MLG. *spar*, *sper*; also in combs, as *sparglas*, *sparkalk*. **Lead-glance** (1810), galena; perhaps a translation of Du. *lood-glans*.

### 11. 3.

Terms of the treatment and smelting of ores are perhaps best included under mining.

**Smelter** (1455), one who smelts; from *smelt*, vb., but cf. Du. *smelter*. **Smelt** (1543), to fuse or melt ore in order to extract the metal; probably ad. M.Du. or MLG. *smelten* (*smilten*), to smelt, whence also M.Sw. and Sw. *smälta*, Norw. *smelta*, Da. *smelte*. The pa. pple. of this verb is found as the Scottish ppl. adj. **Smout** (1595), smelted; ad. M.Du. *ghesmouten*, pa. pple. of *smelten*, to smelt. **Smelthouse** (1684), a place where smelting is carried on; from *smelt* and *house* or ad. Du. *smelthuis*. **Smeltery** (1814) is from the vb. *smelt*, but cf. Du. *smelterij*. **Slag** (1552), a piece of refuse matter, separated from metal in the process of smelting; ad. MLG. *slagge* (whence Sw. *slagg*).



## Chapter XII

### The Influence of Low Dutch on the Technical Vocabulary of Various Crafts and Manufactures

#### 12. 1.

A CONSIDERABLE number of words from Low Dutch are technical terms of handicrafts and minor manufactures not important enough to demand separate treatment. Often it is evident at a glance what craft or industry is responsible for a particular word, at other times there is doubt as to the exact channel of introduction, as several separate crafts could equally well have brought in the word. It is impossible in such cases to go beyond the statement that it is a technical term. Such technical terms would be introduced with every fresh industry started or improved in this country by Low Dutch workers, and Low Dutch craftsmen seem to have been prominent in every advance of English material culture. In the reign of Elizabeth particularly, the best hope of bringing about a considerable improvement in English industry at a small cost lay in granting patents to men who had enterprise enough to plant a new art or introduce a new manufacture, and in many of these new industries Low Dutch people were concerned. It is not enough to give details only of those crafts by which it is certain that words were introduced, but it is necessary to give details of all crafts and industries in which Low Dutch people had a share, as for some words the precise mode of entry is uncertain.

#### 12. 2. 12. 2.

The men of the Low Countries had a high reputation as builders in the 13th century, and they were brought over to England to do work, even though by that time the art of building in stone had had every chance of taking root in England. Flemish masons worked at Leicester and they were also employed by Bishop Poor at Salisbury, while there is evidence to prove that they had a hand in the building of Llandaff Cathedral and Caerphilly Castle. In other cases, where Flemish fonts are found in churches, it seems possible that the fabric was also due in part to Flemish hands. The continued reliance on foreign skill in this century raises the presumption that the best work of the preceding age had been done by foreign craftsmen. Indeed, skill in any manual art can only be transferred from one land to

12. 2. A.I. 57; I.C. i. 650; Salz. 180; Abram, 7.

another by transferring the men who practise that art. Again, when we find the presence of Flemish masons, it is perhaps safe to assume the presence of Flemish workers in the other building crafts of carpentry, wood-carving, decorating, and tiling.

From the middle of the 14th century onwards we find with increasing frequency mention of 'walties' or bricks. For building a new chamber at Ely in 1335 some 18,000 wall-tiles were made at a cost of 12*d.* the thousand. These bricks seem to have been introduced or reintroduced from Flanders and are frequently called 'Flaundrestiel', as for instance in 1357, when 1,000 were bought for a fireplace at Westminster for 3*s.* 2*d.* When they were made in this country Flemish tile-makers were probably imported for the purpose, and at first at any rate Flemish bricklayers laid them. In the 15th century men from the Low Countries started the manufacture of bricks in England or, as it is perhaps truer to state, revived an industry which had been practised only sporadically before. They made these bricks very cheaply, so that we find one William Elys supplying 200,000 for the repair of Dover Castle at the rate of 250 for a penny.

Most of the building and construction terms from Low Dutch which appear in Middle English are specifically of carpentry. **Spiking** (1261), a spike nail; probably ad. M.Du. *spiking*, synonymous with *spiker* (see **Spiker**, below), or denoting some variety of this. **Wimble** (1295, in non-Eng. context, c. 1325, in Eng. context), a gimlet; ad. AF. *wimble*, variant of \**guimble*, represented by the rare 13th-century *gymble* and the diminutive *gimlet*, ad. MLG. *wiemel* (also Flem.), *wemel* (whence O.Sw. *wimla*, Da. *vimmel*), M.Du. *wimpel*.

**Shore** (1340, *Ayenbite*), to prop, support with prop; from the sb. *shore*, but cf. MLG. and M.Du. *schoren*. The sb. is a century later, **Shore** (c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.*), a prop, strut; late ME. *schore* is probably ad. MLG. and M.Du. *schöre*, *schāre* (Du. *schoor*), prop, stay. **Shelf** (c. 1386, Chaucer), a slab of wood fixed in a horizontal position; apparently ad. (M)LG. *schelf*, shelf, set of shelves (whence also Northern *skelf*), cognate with OE. *scylfe*. The Sc. and Nthn. form is **Skelf** (1396-7), also ad. MLG. *schelf*. **Peg** (c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.*), a pin or bolt made originally of wood; of obscure history, but apparently of Low Dutch origin; the Low Dutch forms are M.Du. *pegge*, dial. Du. *peg*, plug, peg, small wooden pin, LG. *pigge*, peg, also M.Du. *pegel*, little knob, used as a mark.

**Slip** (1498, *Test. Ebor.*), to cut (a spoon handle) obliquely at the end; (1530), to part from a stock, esp. for the purpose of propagation; ad. M.Flem. or MLG. *slippen*, to cut, incise, cleave.

**Cramp** (1503), an iron bar with the end bent to a hook, a grappling iron; (1594), a small bar of metal with the ends bent for holding together two pieces of masonry, timber, &c.; apparently from Low Dutch, which has forms M.Du. *krampe* (in Kilian and Plantijn also *krampe*), in Du. replaced by *kram*. **Need-nail** (1563), to secure firmly by means of clinched nails; probably ad. LG. \**need-nagelen*. The sb. is much later, **Need-nail** (a. 1732), a clinched nail; ad. LG. *neednagel* (whence Sw. *nitnagel*, Da. *netnagel*), from MLG. *neden*, to clinch (M.Du. *nieden*). **Spiker** (1574), a spike-nail; ad. M.Du. or MLG. *spiker*.

Two terms of carpentry are **Crame**, sb. and vb. (1614-15, *Vestry Bks. Surt.*), cramps for coffins, to fasten or mend with cramps; probably from Low Dutch, which has M.Du. *crame*, Du. *kram*, cramp, cramp-iron, hook, and Du. *krammen*, to fasten with cramps. **Tafferel** (1622-3), a panel, esp. a carved panel; ad. Du. (and M.Du.) *tafereel*, panel, picture, diminutive of *tafel*, table, for *tafeleel*, with dissimilation of / .. l to r .. l; as a term of ship-building this is probably a distinct borrowing (see **Tafferel**, p. 75).

A term of the wheelwright's craft is **Bush** (1566), the metal lining for the axle-hole of a wheel; Skeat says it is ad. Du. *bus*, in the same sense, O.E.D. ad. M.Du. *busse*, though the word does not appear to have this particular sense in M.Du.; the form is not easy to account for, and O.E.D. refers to a similar change in the final consonant in the early forms of blunderbuss and harquebus. The vb. is from the sb., **Bush** (1566), to furnish with a bush; O.E.D. says that it appears to have been erroneously associated with F. *bouche*, mouth, *boucher*, to stop up, or *bouchon*, cork, plug, whence the frequent later form *bouche*; the association with these F. words may in part account for the final consonant of the sb.

Brick-making has brought in two words. **Clamp** (1596-7), a large quadrangular stack of bricks built for burning in the open air; probably ad. M.Du. and Du. *klamp*, a heap; the sense in farming, a heap of earth lined with straw, in which potatoes are kept during the winter, is possibly an independent borrowing from Dutch. **Clinker** (1641, Evelyn, *Diary*), a very hard kind

of brick of a pale colour made in Holland and used for paving; (1659), a brick whose surface has been vitrified; in the 17th century the form was *clincard*, ad. e.mod.Du. *klinckaerd* (Kilian), Du. and LG. *klinker*, from *klinken*, to sound, ring; the suffix *-ard* has been weakened to *-er* both in Eng. and Du.

### 12. 3. 12. 3.

Low Dutch people were influential in the various branches of metal working. In the art of the gold- and silversmith we find Edward II shortly after his accession employing a foreigner, as four pounds were paid to Reynold de Berewic, a German goldsmith, for making his privy seal. Aliens were engaged at the Mint from time to time, there being from 200 to 300 employed there under Edward I. The question of the relative skill of German and English craftsmen arose in 1464 as the result of a dispute between Oliver Davy, a citizen of London, and White Johnson, a German, for the cutting of four steel puncheons or dies, and the Englishman was successful.

In the manufacture of guns the Germans and Dutch were particularly expert, and Richard II had Matthew de Vlenk, 'gonnemaker', in his service. Godfrey Goykin, one of four 'gunne meysters' from Germany who were serving Henry V during the last years of his reign, was employed in 1433 to finish off three great iron cannon, which Walter Thomasson had begun to make. These cannon threw balls of 14, 16, and 18 inches diameter, and so were probably bombards or mortars. In 1497 Cornelys Arnoldson was paid for mending five great serpentines, and for making two new chambers for them. At the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII large purchases of cannon were made abroad, among others from Hans Popenreuter and Lewis de la Fava of Mechlin. Henry VIII instituted a new officer, 'the provider of the King's instruments of war', and the post was filled by an alien in his and the succeeding reign. Sundry gun-makers from the Low Countries and Germany settled in Southwark and Blackfriars.

In copper and brass working the town of Dinant was early pre-eminent. In 1453 the town complained that three coppersmiths had secretly left and had emigrated to England, and it was feared that the industry which they had established there would flourish, to the consequent hurt of the trade which had hitherto been carried on between England and Dinant in copper goods. In the 18th century men were brought from

12. 3. Salz. 132-3, 163; A.I. 116, 120, 142, 179; I.C. II. 84.

Holland to establish the brass manufacture at Bristol. There is great probability that the rise of Birmingham as an industrial centre was due to the immigration of religious refugees from the Low Countries. It is surely significant that its brass manufacture, along with glass-making and engraving, and the making of needles and cutlery should be arts for which we are by common tradition indebted to these refugees.

Godfrey Box of Liège is credited with the introduction of wire-drawing in 1590. Wire-making was started at Esher in Surrey by Mommer and Demetrius, and a Dutchman opened a wire-mill at Richmond in 1662.

Cutlery had long been made at Sheffield, but the improvement in the manufacture of knives in the 16th century was in all probability due to the settlement of Flemish cutlers under the patronage of the Earl of Shrewsbury. Flemings are said to have begun the manufacture of steel at Shotley Bridge near Newcastle. The making of Spanish needles was introduced into England by a German in 1566.

Three terms for the polishing of metals were introduced into Middle English. **Scour** (a. 1366, Chaucer, *Rom. Rose*), to cleanse or polish by hard rubbing with some detergent substance; the word is used figuratively in the *Cursor Mundi*, 13.; probably ad. M.Du. *schūren* (Du. *schuren*, LG. *schüren*, whence M.Sw. and Sw. *skura*, Da. *skure*); Du. has also a vb. *schuieren*, to brush, probably a dial. variant; the Low Dutch word is probably ad. F. *escurer*, but direct adoption from F. for the Eng. word is unlikely, as the Eng. form would have been *scure*. **Shore** (c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.*),



to scour or cleanse by rubbing; this is apparently a variant of the above; if the source of *scour* be M.Du. *schūren* or MLG. *schûren*, the variation in the initial of *shore* may be due to dialectal difference in the pronunciation of the Low Dutch word; for the pronunciation of the vowel compare the form *score* of *scour*. **Slipe** (1390, Gower), to make smooth, polish, whet, sharpen; ad. M.Du. *slīpen* (Du. *slijpen*) or MLG. *slīpen* (LG. *slīpen*), to whet.

There are a few words of the goldsmith's and jeweller's craft. Two of them are names for the products of the gold-beater. **Rattle-gold** (1508, *Acc. Ld. H. Treas. Scotl.*), gold leaf or tinsel; ad. e.mod.Du. *ratelgoud* (Kilian), from *ratelen*, to rattle; cf. Du. *klatergoud*. **Clinquant** (1591), glittering with gold or silver, tinselled; (1691), as sb., imitation of gold leaf, Dutch

gold; ad. F. *clinquant*, clinking, tinkling, present pple. of *cliquer*, ad. Du. *klinken*, to clink, ring, found in the 15th century in F. as *or clinquant*, gold in thin plates, gold leaf. A name for a jeweller's tool is **Spit-sticker** (1837), a jeweller's graver or sculper with a convex face; ad. Flem. *spitsteker*.

## 12. 4. 12. 4.

There is abundant circumstantial evidence for the making of glass in England in the medieval period, but direct records are extremely scarce and are practically confined to one district, Chiddingfold and the neighbouring villages on the borders of Sussex and Surrey, which from the early years of the 13th century were turning out large quantities of glass. It is probable in the case of glass-making, as in so many other industries, that improvements were introduced from abroad. In 1352 we find John de Alemaygne of Chiddingfold supplying large quantities of glass for St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, and in January 1355-6 four 'hundreds' of glass were bought from the same maker for the windows of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The modern period of glass-making, however, begins with the coming of the 'gentilhommes verriers' from France early in the reign of Elizabeth.

The making of stained glass was not flourishing in England in the 15th century. In 1449 Henry VI brought over from Flanders John Utyman to make glass of all colours for Eton College and the College of St. Mary and St. Nicholas at Cambridge. He was empowered to obtain workmen and materials at the king's cost, and full protection was granted to him and his family. He was allowed to sell such glass as he made at his own expense, and 'because the said art had never been used in England, and the said John is to instruct divers in many other arts never used in this realm', the king granted him a monopoly, no one else being allowed to use such arts for twenty years without his licence under a penalty of £200. A certain amount, especially of coloured glass, was imported. In 1447 the executors of the Earl of Warwick stipulated that no English glass should be used in the windows of his chapel at Warwick. The York accounts show 'glass of various colours' bought in 1457 from Peter Faudkent, 'Dochman', at Hull. 'Rennysshe' glass was bought in 1530. In 1540 the glaziers' craft complained that Peter Nicholson, a foreign glazier, imported glass ready made, 'whereby our English men cannot be set to work'.

12. 4. Salz. 183-8; A.I. 143, 177.

The glorious windows in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, were made between 1515 and 1530 by four English and two Flemish glaziers, all of whom were resident in London. There were several glaziers from the Low Countries and France serving Henry VIII and Edward VI. In 1567 Becker and Carré, Low Countrymen, obtained a royal licence for glazing.

There are only two terms of glazing. **Grozier** (1404, *Durh. Acc. Rolls*), grozing-iron; in the 14th and 15th centuries the form is *groser*, and the Eng. word may be formed on a vb. \**groze* adapted from the Du. vb. *gruizen*, whence also the F. *gruger*, to trim glass, break with the teeth, *grésoir*, *grugeoir*. **Grozing-iron** (1688), a tool in the form of nippers formerly used by glaziers in cutting



glass; formed after Du. *gruisijzer*, from *gruis*, the stem of the vb. *gruizen*, to trim glass, crush, from *gruis*, fragments, and *ijzer*, iron.

## 12. 5.12. 5.

The Dutch were pioneers in various refining industries. In the 15th century salt could not be produced in sufficient quantities in England to supply all that was needed for agricultural and domestic consumption, and 60 persons were brought from Holland and Zeeland by John de Schiedame to manufacture salt in England; they were settled at Winchelsea. Later, under Elizabeth, we find Cecil writing in 1563 to Gaspar Seelar, a German, saying that he had obtained for him the queen's licence to manufacture salt and inviting him to come over. There were, however, numerous competing proposals from Francis Bertie of Antwerp, Mount, Back, Backholt, Van Treere and others, Franchard and Baronally; the names of some of these men are obviously Low Dutch.

Proposals for the manufacture of saltpetre were made during the reign of Elizabeth by the Low Countrymen, Stephenson, Leonard Engelbright, and Bovyat.

New processes in the refining of sugar were also brought in from abroad. In 1622 Martin Higger, a German, applied for patent and monopoly for the making of double refined sugar; the art had been introduced twenty-four years earlier by another German, Gaspar Tielm. In 1667 a master boiler came from Holland, and in 1669 Zachariah Zebs from Germany to the Western Sugar Works at Glasgow. This venture was successful and a sugar refinery, combined with a distillery, was started in 1701, and skilled foreign workmen were brought over.

12. 5.A.I. 179, 217-19; I.C. II. 77; Abram, 6.

**Potash** (1648, Hexham), an alkaline substance obtained originally by leaching the ashes of terrestrial vegetables and evaporating the solution, a crude form of potassium bicarbonate; in the 17th century the form was *pot-ashes*, plural, apparently ad. e.mod.Du. *pot-asschen* (Kilian), Du. *potasch*.

A term of the refining of alum is **Slam** (1650-1), refuse matter separated from alum in the preparation of this; ad. LG. *slam*, slime, mud (whence Sw. *slam*).

A term of salt refining is **Loot** (1669), a name applied in the Cheshire and Staffordshire salt works to the ladle used to remove the scum from the brine-pan; ad. Du. *loet*.

There are two terms of sugar refining. **Skipper** (1688), a sugar-ladle; ad. Du. *schepper*, scoop, ladle. **Skip** (a. 1818), to transfer sugar from one vessel to another in the process of manufacture; ad. Du. *scheppen*, to ladle, dip, bale, draw.

## 12. 6.12. 6.

A number of other industries were started or improved by Low Dutch people.

Their influence is apparent in the making of pottery and earthenware. Jaspar Andreas and Jacob Janssen of Antwerp petitioned in 1570 for a monopoly of the manufacture of galley, i.e. glazed tiles and apothecaries' vessels. Two brothers, the Elers, came from Amsterdam in 1688 to the Staffordshire pottery district and began the method of salt glazing, making their red ware at Dimsdale and Bradwell, near Burslem, in imitation of the Saxony ware of the period. About twenty years later they removed to one of the suburbs of London, where there were potteries already at Chelsea, Vauxhall, Fulham, Battersea, and Lambeth. All the early stonewares of these potteries were similar to those of Delft and some of the potters at least were probably Dutch. In 1676 John Ariens van Hamme obtained a patent for the art of making tiles, porcelain, and other earthenware after the way practised in Holland. Delft ware was made at this period in Bristol and Liverpool, but there is no evidence of foreign potters. The frequent intercourse between the Eastern Counties and Holland makes it probable that the Delft ware of Lowestoft and Gunton is due originally to the

skill of Dutch workmen. In 1703 foreigners came to Edinburgh to establish the art of making earthenware.

We hear of clock-makers from Delft in the reign of Edward III. In the early modern period the clocks made in England were

**12. 6.** A.I. 116, 143, 148, 177, 185, 215-19.

of French design; but the term 'Dutch clock' suggests that clocks of this type were first made in Holland. They were first constructed in England soon after the Restoration by a Dutchman, Fromantil.

Printing had been introduced by Caxton from Flanders in the 15th century, but in the reign of Henry VIII many printers still came from abroad. Bookbinding, too, was largely done by foreigners. In 1590 a German, Peter Groot Heare, and several associates were licensed by the Privy Council of Scotland to make paper for nine years, and in 1687 Peter de Brus, a Fleming, brought over workmen to Scotland to make playing-cards, but his enterprise failed.

Stow says that the making of felt hats was begun in the reign of Henry VIII, and he attributes the first introduction of the art to Spaniards and Dutch. Straw hats were introduced in the same reign by a man of Gueldres. The art of starching linen was unknown in England until Mme Dingham van der Plasse introduced the art in the reign of Elizabeth. For the fee of £5 she was prepared to instruct English gentlewomen in the approved methods of getting up linen, and so greatly was her teaching prized that she soon amassed a considerable estate. Local tradition speaks of Flemings settled in south-east Lancashire in the reign of Edward III and attributes the introduction of clogs to them.

A Fleming, William Boonen, is credited with introducing the use of coaches into England; he is said to have acted as coachman to Queen Elizabeth, who availed herself occasionally of this method of progression.

The making of needles and parchment were subsidiary industries at the Flemish colony at Colchester in the 16th century.

A term of clock-making is **Clock** (1371), in ME. generally an instrument for measurement of time in which hours, &c., are sounded by bells; OE. had *clucge* (once, c. 900), but this word has no historical connexion with the extant word, which goes back apparently only to the 13th or 14th century; ME. *clocke*, *clok(ke)*, was either ad. M.Du. *clocke* (Du. *klok*), bell, clock, or ad. ONF. *cloke*, *cloque*, corresponding to Central F. *cloche*, bell; it is probable that *clock* was introduced with striking clocks or at least with bells on which the hours were mechanically struck.

One term of watch-making is apparently of Dutch origin. **Stackfreed** (1819), an eccentric wheel or cam attached to the barrels of watches before the invention of the fusee, in order to equalize the force transmitted; the word is of obscure origin but is presumably corrupt Du. or G.; it appears in 18th-century F. in the forms *stockfred*, *stackfreed*, and *staakfreed*.

Terms of milling are **Rind** (c. 1343, *Durh. Acc. Rolls*), an iron fitting serving to support an upper millstone on the spindle; corresponds to and perhaps ad. M.Du. *rijn*, *rīne*, or MLG. *rīn*, *ryn*, still in use in both languages; the final -d of the Eng. word is excrescent. **Stive** (1793), dust, esp. the floating dust or flour during the operation of grinding; ad. Du. *stuive* (given by Kilian as obsolete), related to *stuiven*, to rise as dust; the word seems to have belonged originally to Pembrokeshire, where there was a Flemish colony, and to E. Anglia, where words from Low Dutch are frequent. A term for a tool in leather-working is **Elsin** (c. 1440, *Pr. Parv.*), an awl; ad. M.Du. *elsene*, later *elzen(e)*, Du. *els*, an awl, bradawl; the word was also borrowed into the Romance languages as Sp. *lesna*, *alesna*, It. *lesina*, F. *alêne*.

There is only one term of printing. **Rounce** (1683), the handle of the winch by which the spit and wheel are turned so as to run the carriage of a hand-press in and out; ad. Du. *ronds(e)*, *ronse*, in the same sense.

A term of rope-making was introduced in the 18th century. **Loper** (1794), a swivel upon which yarns are hooked at one end while being twisted into cordage; O.E.D. says from *lope*, to run and -er, but in this sense perhaps another word immediately ad. Du. *looper*, runner.

A term of basket-making is **Skein** (1837), a split of osier after being dressed for use in fine basket-work; ad. Du. *scheen* (M.Du. *scheene*).

In the 18th and 19th centuries were introduced a number of terms for the cutting and polishing of diamonds. The largest centre for this trade was and is at Amsterdam. **Dop** (1764), a small copper cup with a handle, into which a diamond is cemented to be held while being cut; ad. Du. *dop*, shell, husk, cover; the same word as **Dop**, p. 148. **Skive** (1843), a revolving iron disk or wheel used with diamond powder in grinding, polishing, or finishing diamonds or other gems, a lap, a diamond wheel; ad. Du. *schijf* (M.Du. *schîve*). **Trap-cut** (1853), a mode

of cutting gems, mostly used with emeralds, sapphires, and rubies; apparently from Du. *trap*, step, stair, and *cut*. **Trap-brilliant** (1877), in diamond cutting, a form of brilliant in which each of the foundation squares is divided horizontally into two triangular facets cut at an obtuse angle; apparently from Du. *trap* and *brilliant*. **Scaife** (1887), a revolving wheel for polishing diamonds; perhaps ad. Du. *schijf*, disk, wheel; the same word as **Scaife**, p. 106.

In the manufacture of quill pens the term **Dutch** (1763) is used for the process of clarifying and hardening quills by plunging them in heated sand and rapidly passing them through a fire; from *Dutch*, adj.; the process must have been of Dutch invention and borrowed from them.

Another Dutch invention was the mangling of clothing in laundering and bleaching. **Mangle** (1774), a machine for rolling and pressing linen and cotton clothing; ad. Du. *mangel*, apparently short for the synonymous *mangel-stok*, from the stem of *mangelen*, to mangle, from M.Du. *mange*, a mangle, in early use also a mangonel. The vb. **Mangle** (1775) is from the sb. or perhaps immediately ad. Du. *mangelen*.

Two words are the names of parts of machines. **Trigger** (1621), a movable catch or lever which releases a detent or spring and sets some force or mechanism in motion; in the 17th and 18th centuries also *tricker*, ad. Du. *trekker*, a trigger, from *trekken*, to pull; the form *trigger* occurs in 1660, but *tricker* remained the usual form down to c. 1750, and is still in dial. use from Scotland to the Midlands. **Cam** (1777), a projecting part of a wheel adapted to impart a variable or alternating motion to another piece pressed against it; probably ad. Du. *kam* (M.Du. *cam*), the same word as Eng. comb., but also applied to 'a toothed rim or part of a wheel, teeth of a wheel', as in Du.

*kamrad*, toothed wheel, cog-wheel; the Du. word was borrowed into F. as *came*, cog, tooth, catch of a wheel, and the Eng. word may be partly from French.

There are a few words which are undoubtedly technical terms, but are difficult to assign to any particular craft or trade. **Furison** (1536, from Sc.), the steel used for striking fire from flint; ad. M.Du. *vuurijzen* (in Kilian, *vierijzen*), from *vuur*, fire, and *ijzen*, *ijzer*, iron. **Drill** (1611), an instrument for drilling or boring; in this sense probably immediately from Du. *dril*, *drille*, in the same sense (in Kilian, 1599) from the vb. *drillen*; in the

military sense the word is probably from the vb. in English. The verb is later, **Drill** (1649), to pierce or bore a hole; ad. Du. *drillen*, to drill, bore; (1681), to turn round and round; the Du. word had also this meaning, M.Du. *drillen*, to bore, turn in a circle, brandish (MLG. *drillen*, to roll, turn). **Shot-prop** (1875), a shot-plug; perhaps after Du. *geschut-prop*.



# THE FLEMISH AMERICANS

## *In Flanders Fields*

*In Flanders fields the poppies blow  
Between the crosses, row on row,  
That mark our place; and in the sky  
The larks, still bravely singing, fly  
Scarce heard amid the guns below.*

*We are the Dead. Short days ago  
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,  
Loved, and were loved, and now we lie  
In Flanders fields.*

*Take up our quarrel with the foe:  
To you from failing hands we throw  
The torch; be yours to hold it high.  
If ye break faith with us who die  
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow  
In Flanders fields.*

*Punch  
Dec 8-1915*

*John McCrae*

## *In Flanders fields*

*In Flanders Fields the poppies blow  
Between the crosses, row on row,  
That mark our place; and in the sky  
The larks, still bravely singing, fly  
Scarce heard amid the guns below.*

*We are the dead. Short days ago  
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,  
Loved, and were loved, and now we lie  
In Flanders fields.*

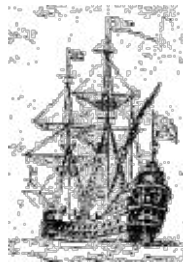
*Take up our quarrel with the foe:  
To you from failing hands we throw  
The torch; be yours to hold it high.  
If ye break faith with us who die  
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow  
In Flanders fields.*

— Lt.-Col. **John McCrae** December 8, 1915. McCrae died January 18, 1918 - and is - buried in Flanders

# NEW YORK AND ITS ORIGINS. LEGEND AND REALITY.

According to the legend, New York was founded in 1626 by the Dutch in the southern part of Manhattan Island. Some schoolbooks, history books, television broadcasts - and down to cigarettes makers - even say that the founder of New York was named Peter Stuyvesant.

The **reality** is somewhat different...



It is in May 1624 that the "Nieu Nederlandt", a ship chartered by the West India Company, arrived in sight of Manhattan Island. The vessel carried about thirty Belgian families: most of them were Walloons accompanied by a few Flemings.

The passengers were soon dispersed: after being left on Nut Island (today Governor's Island), eight men moved quickly to the lower part of Manhattan and erected there a fort - on the site of the present Battery Park. Four couples and eight men were sent to the Delaware River, where they also built a fort (near the present town of Gloucester, New Jersey). Two families and six men were sent to the Fresh River (now Connecticut), where a small fort was built, on the site of the present city of Hartford. About eighteen families remained on the "Nieu Nederlandt" and proceeded up the Hudson. They finally landed near the present city of Albany (capital of the State of New York).

Those first steps in the colonization of this territory were actually the follow up of a process that started a century earlier.

It is indeed in 1524 that the French expedition led by the Florentine Giovanni Da Verrazzano discovered the New York bay for the first time. King Francis I being at war with Spain, the information was sent to the Record Office. During the next tens of years, the Spaniards were almost the only ones who showed interest for the New World and exploited its resources.

## **Willem Usselinx**

In 1555, Charles V abdicated in favor of his son Philip II. His intolerance soon brought the Netherlands in the chaos. The Duke of Alba, sent by the King of Spain, imposed a merciless repression towards the Protestants, in rebellion against the misuses of the Catholic Church.

The excesses of the Inquisition led to a massive emigration of Walloons and Flemings to the North of the Netherlands, Sweden, England and Germany, to the "Gueux" (beggars) rebellion, and to the secession of the Northern Provinces, which took the name of United-Provinces. The southern Provinces stayed under the yoke of the Spaniards and continued to undergo the pangs of war.

In order to avoid any confusion, it is important to know that in the sixteenth century, the Netherlands covered a part of North of France and Lorraine, Belgium, Luxembourg and the present Netherlands. Its inhabitants were called the Belgians, and the maps represented the country in the shape of a lion: the "[Leo Belgicus](#)".

During the same difficult period, in Antwerp, was born Willem Usselinx. Son of a family active in the spices trading, he was later sent in Spain, Portugal and the Azores Island for his education. On his return from the Azores in 1591, Usselinx decided to leave Antwerp for Holland. Knowing how much Spain's wealth was coming from the American colonies, he wouldn't rest until he convinced the Dutchmen to settle colonies in the New World, in order to fight the Spaniards.

Nearly thirty years of stubbornness and efforts were necessary from Willem Usselinx before the West India Company was finally founded in 1621. It is the one who chartered the "Nieu Nederlandt"...

### **Henri Hudson**

In 1609, an English sailor named Henri Hudson discovered a great bay with a big river flowing into it from the mountains, at a latitude of forty-one degrees north and a longitude of seventy-four degrees west.

Hudson had been entrusted by the Flemings Emmanuel Van Meteren, Judocus Hondius and Petrus Plancius to discover a new passage to the land of Tartars and to China, on behalf of the East-Indies Company.

While he was exploring the coasts of America on his ship, luck would have him discover, 85 years after Verrazzano, the territory of the future New York, together with the river who was going to be called after him.

### **Jessé de Forest**

Jessé de Forest was one of those Walloons who fled the religious persecutions. Born in Avesnes (Hainault) in 1576, he left his native land and settled in Leyde, Holland. From that time, he moved heaven and earth to obtain the right to emigrate with his own and other Walloon families to the New World. During his stay, he also met English Pilgrims, future passengers of the Mayflower.

On February 5, 1621, Jessé de Forest sent a petition, written in French, to Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador of his Majesty the King of England in The Hague. It applied for permission to settle in Virginia about fifty Walloon and French families. Jessé asked to dispose over a territory of eight English miles radius. Known as the [Round Robin](#), this document is now preserved in the British Public Record Office.

On August 11, 1621, the Virginia Company gave an agreement in principle, but raised some restrictions. The worse one was her refusal to have the settlers dwell together in one autonomous colony. Jessé declined the proposition.

The foundation of the West India Company gave rise to the most clever plan in the Walloon's mind.

Proposing his services and those of his fellow countrymen to the Dutch Company, Jessé informed her that a group of families practicing various trades had the opportunity to emigrate to America, on behalf on the English. Arguing that those colonist should rather be secured for the West India Company, he wished a quick response, adding that it was a take it or leave it offer.

The States of Holland, realizing the importance of such an opening for future colonization, immediately consulted the "Bewindhebbers" (Directors) of the Company, who were meeting in The Hague.

On August 27, 1622, after years of efforts delivered by Willem Usselinx and Jessé de Forest, the latter finally received the authorization to emigrate with other families to the West-Indies.



Left on reconnaissance for the coasts of Guyana in 1623, Jessé de Forest died on the Oyapok River bank (present borderline between Brazil and French Guyana), on October 22, 1624.

His daughter Rachel and his sons Isaac and Henri joined New-Belgium ten years later.

[Top](#)

## New-Belgium

From 1615, the region between Virginia and New-England was equally named New-Belgium (Novum Belgium, Novo Belgio, [Nova Belgica](#), [Novi Belgii](#)) or New-Netherland.

The name of Belgium referred to the ancient Netherland, which covered a good part of the North of France and Lorraine, Belgium, Luxembourg and the present Netherland. Its inhabitants were called the Belgians.

Besides, numerous maps from the sixteenth century showed this territory under the name of Belgium. The latter fell into disuse for the benefit of the Netherland, and only reappeared in 1789 on the occasion of the first Belgian revolution.

Several seals of this period remind us that the territories surrounding the future New York were called New-Belgium. A first seal from 1623, bears a beaver - at the time, the trappers were almost the only ones to exploit the country -, encircled by the words "Sigillum Novi Belgii". The seal of the New-Amsterdam from 1654 mentions "Sigillum Amstellodamensis in Novo Belgio".



[Top](#)

## Pierre Minuit

In 1626, Pierre Minuit, governor of New-Belgium, became famous by the purchase of Manhattan Island. He bought it from the Manhattes Indians in exchange for glittering beads and other trinkets. The total value was about sixty guilders or \$ 24.

Pierre Minuit was a Walloon, born in Wesel (Rheinland). His parents, from Tournai (Hainault), had settled there in 1581 in order to flee the religious persecutions. Himself will become deacon of the Walloon Church.

Willing to defend the colonists' interests, he also distinguished himself by the respect shown to those of the Indians. In his opinion, the harmonious mix and integration of two cultures - even apparently opposed - was preferable to the pure and simple throwing out of the weakest or so-called less civilized one.

Besides, tolerance was not particularly the strong point of the West India Company. Feudal organization, the latter enforced a series of strict rules for all colonists wishing to emigrate to New-Belgium: apart from public worship of the reformed religion, the settlers were required to make exclusive use of the Low-German - the language from which Flemish and Dutch are originated - in every public act of the colony.



A lot of family names got a Dutch “camouflage”, like Rapalje for Rapaille or Minnewit for Minuit. Other colonists were simply called by the name of the Dutch city they just left. The American historian Charles W. Baird, in his book “[History of the Huguenot Emigration to America](#)”, qualified this type of abuse as “Batavian disguise”.

The settlers were also forbidden to weave wool or linen, make cloth or any other textile, at the risk of being banished or prosecuted as perjurers. The secret aim was to protect the monopoly for the imports from Holland.

The kindly and protective attitude of Pierre Minuit towards the settlers, and the covetousness of a Director from the Dutch company who wanted to impose his nephew as a governor, made that he was called back in 1632.

The trails of the Walloons and Flemish people in New York are numerous and often unknown: the Gowanus Bay for instance, west of Brooklyn, is named after Owanus, Latin translation of Ohain, a village in Walloon Brabant. The Wallabout Bay, north of Brooklyn, is a deformation of the Dutch “Waal bocht” (Walloon Bay)

The name Hoboken, well known district west of Manhattan, comes from a municipality near Antwerp, Flanders. Communipaw, in Jersey City, is the contraction of Community of Pauw. Michel De Pauw, native of Ghent in Flanders, had also bought Staten Island from the Indians in 1630.

As to Peter Stuyvesant, to whom some people absolutely wish to attribute the paternity of the founding of New York, he only arrived in 1647, that is twenty-three years after the landing of the first settlers.

[Top](#)

### **American gratitude**

On May 20, 1924, for the tercentenary of the founding of New York, a [monument](#) was erected [in honor of the Walloon settlers](#), on the site of Battery Park, in the southern part of Manhattan.

A [50 cents](#) silver coin, commemorating the tercentenary of the arrival of the Walloons was also put into circulation at the same time.

The government of the United States paid also homage to the first settlers with the issuing of [1](#), [2](#) and [5](#) cents postage stamps.

### **Belgian oblivion**

People may ask oneself why the real circumstances wrapping the foundation of New York remain, even today, almost unknown in the present Belgium.

The schoolbooks and history books are dumb about the subject. Recently, “Génies en herbe” (Green genius), a game organized by the RTBF (Belgian French-speaking Radio and Television) between different schools, asked to the candidates who was the founder of New York. The supposedly good answer was... Peter Stuyvesant. An answer who teaches a lot about the oblivion into which the ancestors of the participants... and organizers are fallen!

This oblivion can be explained in different ways. There is one who seems plausible: the founders of New York being Walloons and Flemish Protestants, Belgium being catholic, and the teaching having been for a long time influenced by the Catholic Church, one may assume that the latter deliberately occulted this period of our history.

After three hundred and seventy-five years, the Walloon and Flemish settlers doesn't seem to have gained the forgiveness of the Catholic Church.

Ill feelings are sometimes persistent...

## Bibliography

- [Description de la Nouvelle Belgique](#) (par Johannes De Laet - 1640)
- Les Belges et la fondation de New York (by Antoine De Smet - from the Royal Library of Belgium)
- Les Wallons, fondateurs de New York (by Robert Goffin, Institut Jules Destrée)
- Historique de la colonisation de New York par les Belges (by G. Gomme)
- [The Belgians, first settlers in New York](#) (by Henri G. Bayer)
- [History of the Huguenot immigration to America](#) (by Charles W. Baird)
- History of the United States of America (by George Bancroft)
- History of the city of New York (by Martha Lamb)
- [Narratives of New Netherland](#) (par Franklin Jameson)
- History of the State of New York (by Dr. John Romeyn Brodhead)
- Memorial History of the City of New York (by General James Grant Wilson)
- La part des Belges dans la fondation de l'Etat de New York (by the Duke of Borchgrave)
- Willem Usselinx (by Michel Huisman, professor at the "Université libre de Bruxelles")
- [Belgian Americans](#) (by Jane Stewart Cook)

## Links

- [Belgian Immigrants in New York State](#)
- [New York : A Sketch of the City's Social, Political, and Commercial Progress from the First Dutch Settlement to Recent Times](#) (by Theodore Roosevelt)
- [New York Urban Life : History](#)
- [DeFreest Family History](#)
- [Ohain a perdu New York](#)
- [Dutch and Belgian history](#)
- [Rapalye family tree](#)
- [New York Events](#)
- [The New Netherland](#)

# Flemish-American Heroes

This is a sample of the short biographies and pictures that have appeared over the years in the Flemish American Heritage calendar. Click on the links below to go to the biographies. Links in the biographies go to (mostly large) pictures.

[Karel Jan Bossart](#), known as the "father of the Atlas missile"

[Bro. Severing Vermandere](#) contributed to choral singing in Quebec

[Camille Cools](#), founder, editor and publisher of the Gazette van Detroit

[Edward Coryn](#), founder of the "Gazette van Moline" and Consul in Moline, Ill.

[Charles John Seghers](#), the Apostle of Alaska

[Father Damien de Veuster](#), missionary of Molokai

[Maestro Desire Defauw](#)

[Father Pieter Jan DeSmet](#), the "Great Blackrobe"

[Peter Malou](#), revolutionary, priest, and granddad to a prime minister

[Fr. Hennepin](#), first European to see Niagara Falls

[George W. Goethals](#), builder of the Panama Canal

[Sylvia Parmentier](#), philanthropist

[Louis C. Rabaut](#), Congressman from Detroit

[Jan Yoors](#), anti-Nazi, Gypsy, Tapestry weaver, filmmaker

[Marguerite Yourcenar](#), novelist

[Rene DeSeranno](#), Consul

[Leon Buyse](#), after whom our library is named



Karel Jan Bossart, known as the "father of the Atlas Missile", was born in Antwerp, Belgium on February 9, 1904. He graduated from the University of Brussels in 1925 as a mining engineer. He applied for a scholarship to Massachusetts Institute of Technology under the Belgian American Education Foundation which he got with the proviso that he learn English which he did in just six weeks. At MIT he turned to aeronautics, specializing in structures.

His association with Atlas and its predecessor, the MX-774 research rocket, began when Convair, now a division of General Dynamics, entered the missile field after World War II. Bossart was assigned to the program as project engineer. When the Air Force canceled the contract with Convair due to budget difficulties, Bossart persuaded his company to pursue work on the missile with its own funds. The experience he and his team gained during the next few years, later proved invaluable when the US Government again decided to speed up work on missile. Successful tests were carried out with the MX-774 in 1948 which proved to Bossart that the swiveling engine idea for large missiles was the correct approach.

With the MX-774, Bossart and his team had designed and constructed the first known supersonic intercontinental missile research vehicle in the world and the first successfully tested postwar rocket in the US.

In 1955 Bossart became chief engineer of the Atlas project and in 1957 he was promoted to Technical Director of Aeronautics at General Dynamics. On December 17, 1957, eleven years of Bossart's work was climaxed by the successful first flight of the Atlas. In 1958 he received the Air Force's Exceptional Civilian Award for his work in developing America's first ICBM.

His co-workers called Bossart one of the finest technical men in the country. They credit him with having spearheaded a major phase in the art of rocketry. Karel Jan Bossart died in San Diego, CA, on August 3, 1975.

REFERENCES: Winkler Prins Encyclopedie van Vlaanderen Vol I, p. 230, 429. Memo from Belgium, Special Number 1976, Belgians in the US published 1976 by Minister of Foreign Affairs, External Trade and Cooperation in Development, Brussels.

Recommended further reading: Atlas, the Story of a Missile, by John L. Chapman



Henri Vermandere, born in Kortrijk, West Flanders, May 17, 1904, came with his parents to New York in 1907, and from there to Montreal, Canada in 1908. Following the example of his brother Joseph (Br. Placide), he entered the Congregation of Holy Cross at Ste-Genevieve, Quebec in 1919. As Brother Severin he made his first profession in 1921, his perpetual in 1925. His studies included French, English, music and Natural Sciences; his diplomas: Academic Diploma of Pedagogy (Central Bureau, 1922) Modern Education and Pedagogy (U. of Montreal, 1924) and Licentiate in Music (U. of Montreal, 1935).

During 47 years Bro. Severing was professor of chant and choirmaster at various educational institutes in the Montreal area: Ecole Adelard-Langevin (1924-26, 1933-43), Juvenat St-Joseph (1926-30), College Notre-Dame (1930-33) Oratoire St-Joseph (1943), Ecole Beaudet (1943-56), College St-Andre de St-Cesaire (1956-71). After celebrating his golden jubilee of profession in 1971, he retired at the Maison St-Joseph and the provincial house, putting his musical talents at the service of the Oratoire. He died March 2, 1982 at the Grand-St-Joseph, Chomedey, Laval (Montreal suburb).

Bro. Severing's achievements as founder-director of choral groups, were outstanding: "Les Petits Chanteurs a la Croix de Bois de Montreal" (Little Singers with the Wood Cross), 1933, the first Canadian choral group affiliated with the famous Paris group; revived at the Ecole Beaudet, 1951; a choral group at St-Cesaire, 1956. His singers performed with great success at several outstanding concerts in Montreal, Quebec, Nicolet, etc. Twice, in 1947 and 1957, he directed a mighty chorus of combined groups for the performance of the "Te Deum of Victory, a work his brother composed at the end of WW II.

In 1953 Bro. Severing became president of the Diocesan Federation of Choral Groups of Montreal, and vice-president of the National Federation, leading its national congress as interim president on October 11, 1953 at the Aerator St-Joseph, in which 2,000 little singers participated; in 1958 president of the Diocesan Federation of "Les Petits Chanteurs de St-Hyacinthe". It may be said in truth that Bro. Severing Vermandere made an important contribution to the appreciation for choral singing in all of the Quebec province.



The first child of Charles L. Cools and Amelia J. Depuydt, Camille Cools was born April 13, 1874 in Moorslede (West Flanders). In the spring of 1889, the Cools family, then numbering 11 members, decided to emigrate to the U.S. and settled in Detroit. Young Camille quickly became involved in the community.

He received his U.S. citizenship Oct. 16, 1899 and on June 3, 1902 married a young native Detroit of Danish extraction, Margaret Nielson.

Camille, a very enterprising young man, started his own company, Cools & Co. Furniture, in 1905. Later he acquired the Pontiac Reed Works, and included wicker furniture.

The cultural community was always part of his life. Theater, music, sports, all attracted Camille's interest and involvement. He was Secretary of the Wm. Tell Archery Club, President of the "Voor Vlaamschen Recht," a group working to bring Flemish speaking diplomats to the U.S., and was a Board Member of the Belgian-American Century Club #1, whose goal was to enlist 100 members to help each other in case of death. Ironically, his brother Florent was the 100th member and Camille was the first member to die.

Camille had a great love for the printed word. In 1907 when the Gazette van Moline appeared as the "only Flemish weekly in America," Camille wrote for the paper for several years, but by 1911, he began making plans to start his own paper in Detroit. He and a friend bought a printing press and began printing a variety of material, including a "Vermakelijken Almanak" (humorous almanac).

On August 13, 1914, the first issue of the Gazette van Detroit was printed. It sold for 3 cents a copy. Under the name was the caption "Het Licht Voor 't Volk" - The Light for the People. Camille was founder, editor and publisher. It contained local news and community happenings. Entering its 75th year, the Gazette is still published today with readership in several States, Canada and overseas. Camille's "light for the people" still shines on.

Camille Cools died September 27, 1916 at the age of 43.



Born in Lotenhulle, East Flanders, on September 2, 1857, Edward Coryn spent his childhood on the family farm there. With his parents he came to the U.S. in 1881 and settled in Moline, Illinois. He worked in sawmills, ironworks, and the Deere & Co. plough factory, until he opened a grocery store in 1892. In 1906 he became manager of the Incandescent Light Co. At the end of that year he joined the Moline Trust and Savings Bank, became a director of the bank in 1907, and in 1908 was elected vice president, a post he held until his death. Edward Coryn also served as a city alderman from 1896 to 1904, and as postmaster from 1914 to 1920.

A self-made man, who worked himself up in the world entirely by his own efforts, Edward Coryn dedicated himself unselfishly to the service of his fellow immigrants fromlanders. In 1890 he founded the Belgian Workmen's Sick Benefit Society; in 1905 the Belgian American Club; in 1907 he weekly "Gazette van Moline". In 1910 he was the tireless promoter and first president of the National Belgian-American alliance. In 1906 he helped organize, and was a lifelong trustee of the local Sacred Heart or "Belgian" Church.

At the age of 42 he went to Belgium to look for a Flemish wife. He married Marie De Voghelaere, raised a beautiful family, and insisted that his children learned and spoke his native Flemish language.

His outstanding merits were recognized by King Albert of Belgium, who made him a Knight in the Order of Leopold in 1913, and in 1919 he became the first Belgian consul of the Moline area.

Edward Coryn died in Chicago on January 21, 1921. On June 19, 1971, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his death, a memorial plaque was unveiled at the municipal school of Lotenhulle, his native town.



Charles John Seghers, the Apostle of Alaska, was born at Ghent on December 26, 1839. Ordained May 31, 1863, he was assigned to Vancouver Island. Fr. Seghers made up for his frail health with an apostolic zeal that knew no bounds.

Made curate of the Cathedral at Victoria and temporary administrator of the diocese by Bishop Demers, Fr. Seghers was theologian to the aging prelate during Vatican Council I. Bishop Demers died shortly after their return from Rome and Fr. Seghers' own health grew worse.

Catholicism desperately needed an apostle in the Northwest, and after a seemingly miraculous recovery, Charles John Seghers was consecrated Bishop of Vancouver Island on June 29, 1873. Bishop Seghers spent over sixteen months in the undeveloped frontiers, personally leading expeditions along the coast, among the Hesquiat and Cauichan Indians.

In 1878 he was recalled from Vancouver to become coadjutor to the Archbishop of Oregon City. He was elevated to Archbishop on December 12, 1880. The high and well deserved ecclesiastical honors were the first ever bestowed on a son of the American College at Leuven. Under his administration a new era dawned for the Faith in the Northwest. But his heart was still in the missions. In 1885 while attending and ecclesiastical council, he humbly begged to be sent back to Alaska. His wish was granted.

Accompanied by Jesuits Tosi and Robout, and a servant, Francis Fuller, he set out for Alaska in July 1886. Leaving the two priests to care for settlements along the coast, the beloved prelate and Fuller journeyed into the almost unknown interior. After months in light canoes on swollen rivers, and arduous mountain climbing, they reached their destination. Totally committing himself to the work of civilizing the unfriendly Indians, Bishop Seghers soon became aware of another danger. Fuller, spent and worn from the journey had become deranged and turned against him. On November 28, 1886, while resting in a deserted cabin in the Alaskan foothills, Bishop Seghers was shot through the heart. His body was borne back to a grief stricken people and his remains rest under the high altar in the Cathedral at Victoria.



This is a statue of Fr. Damien in his home church, O.L. Vrou Bijstand, in Tremelo. Click on the picture to see a larger version. There are probably other Web sites devoted to him but we haven't looked yet.

Joseph DeVeuster was born on January 3, 1840, in Tremelo, about nineteen miles from Antwerp. His parents, Francis De Veuster, and Anne Catherine Wauters had eight children of which Joseph was the seventh. Auguste, an older brother who had joined the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary (Picpus Fathers), persuaded Joseph to follow his example.

On February 2, 1859, Joseph took the religious habit and the religious name: Damien. When Auguste, now Father Pamphile, was unable to sail for the missions due to illness, Damien volunteered and received permission to go in his place even though he was not yet ordained.



Damien arrived in Honolulu, Hawaii, March, 1864 and was later ordained on May 21, 1864. He served for eight years as a missionary in Hawaii, the largest of the Hawaiian Islands. In 1873, he volunteered to go to Molokai to work at the leper settlement. Subsequently, he was given permission to remain there permanently.

Although Fr. Damien was the pastor of the Catholics in the Colony, he also served as the lepers' physician, counselor, sheriff, grave digger and undertaker. He worked untiringly with the lepers and by 1884 he contracted the disease. Fr. Damien wrote that he would not wish to be cured if it meant leaving the island and giving up his work. He died April 15, 1889 on the island of MOLOKAI.

A cross of black marble was placed above his grave bearing the inscription: "Damien De Veuster Died a Martyr to His Charity For the afflicted Lepers." In 1936, at the request of King Leopold III, his remains were transferred to Belgium where they now rest in the chapel of the Picpus Fathers in Leuven.

On July 7, 1977, Father Damien was declared Venerable by Pope Paul VI. The Belgian Postal Services featured Father Damien twice on its stamps: in 1946 in the series "Charity" (3 Values) and in 1964 in the series "Fight against Leprosy". There is a statue of Fr. Damien in Leuven (1894) on the "Pater Damiaanplein", and his birthplace in Tremelo is now a museum. In 1969 the State of Hawaii honored his memory with a statue in the Capitol, Washington, D. C.



Desire Defauw was born in Ghent on 5 September 1885, the youngest of five children. At the age of eight he entered the Ghent Conservatory, with a strong plea to study violin, because, as he himself declared "I already know the piano". He was a student of Johan Smit. At 15, he became concertmaster of the Winter Concerts in Ghent, and toured as a Violinist with great success.

From 1914 to 1918 with Lionel Tertis, violist, Charles Woodhouse, pianist, and E. Doehard, cellist, sire Defauw formed the Belgian Quartet and toured England. Defauw started his career at the age of twenty-one when he was chosen conductor of the New London Symphony. In 1920 he founded the "Concerts Defauw" soon renowned all over Europe, and was appointed in 1925, as Director of the Concerts of the Royal Conservatory of Brussels, and the post of musical director of Belgium's National Radio Institute, conducting an 84 piece symphony orchestra formed expressly for radio broadcasting. On December 9, 1939 at the invitation of Arturo Toscanini, the first of the distinguished guest conductors occupying the podium is the Belgian violinist and conductor Desire Defauw, who is also credited with sufficient wit to "tell a good story with a Cockney accent."

He made his American debut with the NBC Symphony Orchestra. Since 1940 Desire Defauw was director and conductor of the Orchestra of the Symphonic Concerts of Montreal. During the following years he conducted the major American Orchestras: the Boston Symphony, Detroit Symphony, with the Chicago Symphony he was Musical Director and Conductor for four years. The Grand Rapids Symphony, and the Chicago Youth Orchestra, he was visiting conductor of orchestral activities at Northwestern University in 1955. He was invited again to conduct the Orchestra of Caracas on a special tour organized by the Venezuelan Government, ending the tour in Lima, Peru.

The 1951-52 season brought the maestro to Brazil and Argentina. In Buenos Aires he gave fourteen concerts with three orchestras of this renowned musical city. On July 25, 1960 in Gary, IN, Desire Defauw died of pneumonia. He was 74 years old, and had retired as director of the Gary Symphony Orchestra.





Father Pieter Jan DeSmet, Jesuit missionary among the American Indians, was born January 30, 1801, in Dendermonde, East Flanders, Belgium and died at St. Louis, MO. May 23, 1873. Pieter Jan emigrated to the United States at the age of twenty and entered the Society of Jesus. Ordained in 1827 at Florissant, MO, he was appointed treasurer of St. Louis College. After six years he went to Belgium because of ill health, but returned to Missouri in 1837. He became the greatest missionary among the Northwest Indians, a peacemaker between the U.S. Government and hostile tribes, and a writer of missionary literature which made his name a household word on two continents. Many colorful accounts of his life have been written.

He explored the Great Salt Lake Valley about 1841 and described the area to the Mormons approximately five years later. He wrote, "These people asked me a thousand questions about the regions I had explored, and the valley I have just described pleased them greatly..."

During the 1850s and 1860s, he visited the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains seven times as an agent of the Federal government. In 1864 he alone could enter the camp of Sitting Bull; and his last journey West (1870) was to establish a mission among the Sioux. In the interest of the missions he made repeated journeys to the mountains and crossed the Atlantic Ocean 16 times, visiting popes, kings and presidents. His writings are numerous and vivid in description.

"The Great Blackrobe", as the Indians called him, was made a Knight of the Order of Leopold by the king of Belgium. Towns in Montana and South Dakota, as well as a lake in Wyoming were named after him, while statues were erected in his honor in his native town, in Ogden and Salt Lake City, Utah, and in De Smet, South Dakota.



Born in Ieper, W. Flanders, Oct. 9, 1753, Peter Malou, son of a textile industrialist married Marie -Louise Riga and had two sons. Alderman of Ieper, known as Malou-Riga, he played a leading role in West Flanders' participation in the Patriots' Revolution against Austria. The short-lived independence of the United States of Belgium (Jan.-Dec. 1790), was ended by the Austrians' return. Malou-Riga welcomed the French invaders in 1792, as they promised to restore Belgium's independence. When it became obvious that the French wanted to annex his country, he went to Paris in January 1793 to remind their government of its promise. Two months later the Austrians recaptured Belgium but suffered a final defeat by the French in the spring of 1794.

Concerned about his safety, Malou-Riga fled with his family to Delft, Holland, and from there to Hamburg, Germany. Seeking to prepare a new home in the U.S.A., he left Hamburg in 1795 and bought a 900 acre farm in Princeton, N.J. Unfortunately his wife died in Hamburg two years later.

Unable to return to Flanders, he asked his brother-in-law, Canon Joseph Riga, to look after his two sons, and entered the seminary of Wolsau (Rothenburg), Germany in 1799. He left for Dunaburg, Russia in 1804 to join the Jesuits. Ordained a priest in 1807, Father Malou devoted himself to teaching in Mogilev and Vitebsk, and apostolic work in Orsha.

Upon the request of Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore for missionaries, Fr. Malou was assigned to the U.S.A. He taught in New York's Literary Institute, and in 1813 became pastor of St. Peter's Church in New York. Defending the churches' trustees against New York's Bishop John Connelly and falsely accused of collaboration with the French revolutionaries, Fr. Malou was deprived of his priestly faculties. Supported by Archbishop Ambrose Marechal of Baltimore, he was reinstated in 1825, resuming his pastorship and visiting the New York schools, until he died on October 13, 1827. A local newspaper praised "his admirable charity in bringing solace to all miseries".

In Belgium his two sons became senators, one grandson bishop of Brugge, and another prime minister.



George W. Goethals was born 29 June 1858, Brooklyn, N.Y. of Flemish parentage, son of John Louis and Marie LeBarron, who emigrated to the United States from Stekene, near Ghent in 1850. After attending Brooklyn public schools, he worked his way through three years of college. Representative 'Sunset' (SS) Cox, hearing of Goethals high scholarship, gave him the coveted appointment to West Point Military Academy, from which he graduated June 15, 1880.

His service in the Engineer Corps of the Army covered all grades from second lieutenant to colonel inclusive. His more important details were: engineer officer, department of Columbia 1882-84; improvements on the Ohio River 1884-85; instructor and assistant professor of civil and military engineering U.S.M. Academy 1885-89; construction of the Colbert Shoals Locks 1889-1894; instructor in practical military engineering at the United States Military Academy 1889-1900; river and harbor works, Block Island to Nantucket, and fortification of Narragansett Bay and New Bedford 1900-05; General Staff 1903-07; and Construction of the Panama Canal 1907-14.

In 1907 he was selected by Pres. Theodore Roosevelt as Chairman and Chief Engineer of the Isthmian Canal Commission (two predecessors had resigned). The following January he took complete charge of construction work and government in the Canal Zone. When the Panama Canal was opened to commercial traffic in August 1914, Pres. Woodrow Wilson appointed Goethals the first governor of the Canal Zone.

On March 4, 1915 he was made a major-general in the United States Army by a special act of Congress. During World War I he served as acting quartermaster general. In 1918 he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal of conspicuous service in reorganizing the army's quartermaster department.

From 1919 to 1928 he was president of the engineering firm of George W. Goethals and Company. He served as consultant to many important engineering organizations, including the Port of New York Authority. He retired to Vineyard Haven, Mass, which he had considered his home since 1894, after marrying Effie Rodman of New Bedford, MA. January 21, 1928 he died of cancer.



**Antoine Hennepin**, born May 12, 1626 at Ath, Hainaut, entered the Franciscan monastery in Bethune (French Flanders) at age 17 and took the religious name Louis. Ordained a priest, he visited various monasteries of his Order in Italy and Germany, joined the French troops, as chaplain, during the Spanish war, until his superior appointed him at Halle. One year later he went to the coastal towns of Duinkerke, Calais, etc. where he became fascinated by the strange tales of the sailors. In 1672 he resumed his military ministry in the Low Countries until the Battle of Seneffe in 1674, -at one time in 1673 at Maastricht, ministering to over 3000 wounded soldiers.

When King Louis XIV asked the Franciscans to send some men to accompany Bishop Francois de Laval, of Quebec, the choice fell on Fr. Hennepin and four other friars. They sailed from La Rochelle on July 14, 1675 to New France, landing at Quebec at the end of September.

After three years of ministry, Fr. Hennepin was invited by Cavelier de La Salle to join him in his explorations westward. As they journeyed up the Niagara River Gorge, on December 8, 1678, they discovered the Niagara Falls. Fr. Hennepin was the first European to describe the falls from actual view. Continuing their voyage through Lake Erie on the "Griffon", they navigated the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair, named by La Salle, on the feast of St. Clare, August 12, 1679. Hennepin and his companions left La Salle near Lake Peoria, and continued toward the Mississippi River. On April 12, 1680 they were taken prisoner by the Aced Sioux and obliged to accompany them in their wanderings. On one of these journeys, they stopped at a cataract in the Mississippi, which Hennepin named St. Anthony Falls. By the end of September 1680 they were released, and after a long and difficult journey reached Quebec.

Fr. Hennepin returned to France in the fall of 1681, where he retired in a monastery and wrote his famous "Description of la Laesione, newly discovered on the Southeast of New France, by order of the King". Published in Paris in 1683, it became a best seller and was soon translated into other languages. In Athrocyte, Netherlands, he published two new versions of his travels, in which he added discoveries made by others. Eventually he left for Rome where he spent his remaining days in a monastery and died probably after 1701.



Born in Edingen, Hainaut in 1793, Sylvia Parmentier married a distant cousin and fellow-townsmen, Andre Carpentier (b. 1780). After unsuccessful financial ventures, the family left for the U.S.A. in 1824 and settled first in New York City. And re, a competent horticulturist, rejected a position with the Elgin Botanic Garden in New York, and selected Brooklyn as his residence. There on a 25 acre tract he developed the splendid Horticultural and Botanical Garden, which earned his membership in the N.Y. Horticultural Society and La Societe Linneenne de Paris. He is said to have exercised a more potent influence in landscape gardening in the U.S.A. than any other person of his profession up to that time. Predeceased by two of his children, Andre died at the age of 50 in 1830, survived by his wife, two daughters, Adele, 17 and Rosine, 1, and one son Leon, 12, who died shortly after.

Sylvia Parmentier sold the gardens for \$60,000 and had a fine house constructed, which became a center of hospitality, charitable and social activities. Her guests included Bishop John Dubois of New York, on his weekly visits to minister to the growing Catholic population of Brooklyn, Mother Theodore Guerin, founder of the Sisters of Providence of St.Mary-of- the-Woods, Father Edward Sorin, C.S.C., first president of Notre Dame, the Little Sisters of the Poor. For many missionaries, including Fr. Peter De Smet, S.J., and local parishes she obtained liturgical articles from her relatives in Belgium. Her generous charity for the needy equaled her hospitality. Local parish priests would refer recent immigrants in need of employment or financial assistance to the Parmentier family. Sylvia Parmentier died on April 27, 1882, at the age of 89.

The two daughters cooperated with their mother's philanthropy. Adele (1814-1892), married to Edward Bayer in 1841, spent thirty years of her life caring for the spiritual and temporal wants of the sailors of the Brooklyn Navy Yard. She was revered by the seamen of the world as an angel and friend. Together with Adele, Rosins (1829-1908) assisted varied charitable causes, such as orphanages, Indian Missions, Negro schools, and the support of missionary priests. In her will she bequeathed to the Sisters of Saint Joseph money and property to be used for a high school for girls.



A grandson of immigrants from West Flanders, Louis C. Rabaut was born in Detroit, Michigan on December 5, 1886. His parents operated a wholesale toy and fireworks store. Louis studied law at the University of Detroit, obtained his degree of Master of Arts in 1912, and was admitted to the bar the same year. He married Stella M. Petz of Detroit.

They had nine children, one of the three sons became a Jesuit, three daughters joined the I.H.M. Sisters. After working for Seymour Troster's Real Estate Co. for a couple of years, Louis in partnership with James J. Brady established the Standard Home Investment Corporation, and was engaged in developing East side subdivisions as well as in insurance.

On November 6, 1934 Louis C. Rabaut was elected to the U.S. Congress as Representative of Detroit's East side (Michigan 14th District), with the support of the Flemish American community. Addressing the House of Representatives in 1936 to recall the heroic life of Father Damien, whose remains were then being transported to Belgium, he introduced himself "as one with Belgian blood flowing in my veins, being, I believe, the first of such lineage ever to enter the American Congress".

Rabaut's record in Congress for more than 25 years, - he lost only one election (1946) is impressive. On many occasions he championed the cause of economic justice for workers, social security legislation, unemployment benefits, fair employment practices, guaranteed bank deposits, small business, lower interest rates, etc.

In the field of international relations he chaired several congressional committees, represented the U.S. in the Philippines (1935), at Oslo, Norway (1939), in South and Central America (1941), and in Europe (1945), and promoted world trade.

Rabaut, a deeply religious man and daily communicant, was the author in 1945 of the amendment inserting the words "under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance to the U.S. Flag, and of the legislation placing a cancellation mark on mail using the words "pray for peace". He had a good voice and loved to join his colleagues in song as they would gather in the evening at the Congressional Hotel. Death came suddenly to Congressman Rabaut on November 12, 1961 in Hamtramck, Michigan, as he was speaking at a banquet honoring a former colleague.

He received awards from the International Economic Council (1944), the Catholic War Veterans and the Daughters of the American Revolution (1956), and in 1957 the George Washington Honor Medal from Freedom Foundation at Valley Forge.



Born in Antwerp on April 12, 1922, **Jan Yoors**, son of artist Eugene Yoors, left home at the age of twelve to join a kumpania, or tribe of gypsies roaming through Western Europe and the Balkans. In 1940, because of the Nazi persecution of gypsies, he became a liaison operative between Allied intelligence units and gypsies behind the German lines. Arrested by the Gestapo in 1943 and condemned to death after six months of solitary confinement and torture, he escaped and resumed his activities.

A year later he went to London, where he studied at London University and the School of Oriental Studies. Inspired by an exhibition of medieval tapestries, he took up the art. In 1950 he came to New York City and continued his hand-woven art. The first museum showing of his tapestries was in 1956 at the "Twentieth Century Tapestries" exhibition of the Montclair, N.J. Art Museum. Dominating the gallery were 14 of Jan Yoors' dramatic works ranging from 8 to 90 feet square. They portrayed simple objects in stark and sharp outlines, using brilliant solid-color contrasts of men and animals. Art in America magazine called him "a new talent in the U.S.A." In 1962 and 1965 he represented the U.S. at the International Biennale of Contemporary Tapestries in Lausanne, Switzerland. Fifty of his tapestries were exhibited in 1974 in St. Peter's Abbey at Ghent in a celebration marking the 1,000th anniversary of the founding of this Flemish city. In 1976, 50 of his tapestries were exhibited in Chicago.

In 1963 Jan Yoors made a feature-length documentary film, "Only One New York", and in 1965 Simon & Schuster published a photo album on the same subject. In 1966 and 1967 he travelled in the Amazon territory, much of the Far East and Russia, taking photographs. He wrote "The Gypsies", a nonfiction account of six of the years he lived among nomads in Europe before WWII, in 1967, followed by a sequel "Crossing", an autobiographical journal, in 1971.

Jan Yoors died at the age of 55, after suffering a heart attack, on November 27, 1977 at New York City.



Born in Brussels, June 8, 1903, **Marguerite Yourcenar** was only a week old when her mother died. Her father, Michel Cleenewerck de Crayencour, returned with her to French Flanders, to Rijsel (Lille). It was on the "Zwarteberg" that Marguerite, as a small child, discovered the beauty of nature.

Marguerite was educated by her father, who taught her Greek, Latin and history. Her father had a book of her poems printed privately when she was sixteen, and they devised her almost anagrammatic pen-name. She spent her formative years traveling with her father, until he died, leaving her, at the age of 24, financially independent.

At the beginning of WWII Marguerite moved to the U.S. By that time she had published four books. At her home in Northeast Harbor, on Mount Desert Island off the coast of Maine, she devoted her time to translating Negro Spirituals in French, giving conferences and teaching comparative literature at Sarah Lawrence College. Now she could return to her research for her historical masterwork "Memoirs of Hadrian". It was published in 1951, an English translation in 1954.



Fascinated with her Flemish roots, which she could trace to 1600, she wrote "Work in Black" (1968, transl. 1976), a novel of the late Renaissance, with Brugge as its main scene of action. In 1974 she published her "Souvenirs Pieux" and in 1977 her "Archives du Nord". Besides many awards, both in the U.S. and in France, she was the first woman to be admitted to the Academie Francaise, in 1981.

Marguerite Yourcenar died in Bar Harbor, Maine on December 17-18, 1987.



Scion of a family that owes its name to a Spaniard who came to Flanders in the late 1600's, Rene DeSeranno was born of immigrant parents on May 30, 1910 in East Moline, Illinois. In 1912 the family returned to Belgium, making their home in Tiel t. There, Rene went to school, helping his mother in a small grocery store during WWI, while his father served in the Belgian army. The family returned to the U.S.A. in 1922 and settled in Detroit, Michigan.

Employed in a construction business, his father started the Beachlawn Building Company in 1925. Rene attended St. Ambrose school, dreamed of a career in bicycle racing or boxing, but ended up working for his father, digging basements and taking care of personnel and bookkeeping.

At Our Lady of Sorrows on May 23, 1939 Rene married Aline Maertens. This marriage was blessed with two children: Elizabeth A. DeSeranno-Stevens and Donald J. DeSeranno. It was Aline's late father who had founded the Ajax Bolt and Screw Co. in Detroit, of which, in 1950, Rene became president. In 1953, he founded The Cold Heading Co., manufacturers of bolts and screws for the auto industry. He remained chairman of the board until his sudden death, December 17, 1983, at his home in Grosse Pointe, MI.

Rene DeSeranno lived for his family and tried to instill in them the values that were his own. Early in his adult life, he was involved in organizing and promoting projects to benefit the Belgian community and Our Lady of Sorrows Parish. In a humble, unselfish way, he was able to communicate his wisdom, enthusiasm, courage and perseverance, supporting others in roles of leadership in the many facets of social, cultural and parish life.

In 1969 Rene DeSeranno was knighted in the Order of Leopold II by the king of Belgium. On March 27, 1972, he was appointed honorary consul of Belgium for Michigan. He was the first Flemish American to be knighted in the Order of "'t Manneke uit de Mane", in Diksmuide October 24, 1976.

The new Belgian Church and the Fr. Taillieu and DeSeranno Residences for senior citizens are lasting memorials to his generous dedication. He cherished his Flemish Heritage and was responsible for saving the Gazette van Detroit. Numerous are those who remember him as a loyal friend and generous benefactor.



**Leon Buyse** was born in Ingelmunster, West Flanders on June 2, 1905. When his parents left for the U.S.A. and settled in Detroit, he was raised by his mother's family in Ledegem. With his brother Robert he came to the U.S.A. in 1920. His father had died in 1917. Leon attended Our Lady of Sorrows school in Detroit, helped his mother in the bakery and eventually opened his own bakery with his brother Robert.

During World War II, Leon worked at Briggs Manufacturing Co. (later Chrysler's) until his retirement at age 60. Before and after his retirement, he also worked for the Beitzel Calendar Co. The death of his wife in 1975 and his failing health caused him to move to the Fr. Taillieu Residence in Roseville. He died on March 18, 1982.

People and places fascinated Leon. In Detroit, he became part of the flourishing cultural and social activities in the Flemish-American community during the years between the two World Wars. In his youth he joined the "Flandria-America" Soccer Club, the Flemish Dramatic Club "'t Roosje Bloeit in 't Wilde", making his debut on stage in 1924, and soon found his way to the printing shop of the "Gazette van Detroit". There he met Mariette Christiaens, whom he married in 1930. She gave him two daughters, Delores (Mrs. Arthur Schneider) and Marion (Mrs. Norman Laquerre).

As a member, officer and/or consultant, Leon Buyse helped to form, alter, continue or influence the progress of Belgian Societies in the Detroit area. He was active in the Conventions which brought together leaders and delegates from various Flemish settlements in the U. S. and Canada in 1939-40.

As an author, Leon made his first contributions to the Gazette van Detroit in 1955 with his series of "Who is Who" in the Belgian community in Detroit. He reported the minutes and activities of the societies and clubs. He collected and saved many books and records, programs and minuted, pictures and memorial cards. His "archives" became a source of information for many an author. His most famous work was the book "Belgians in America" (1960), compiled mostly by Leon himself and in cooperation with Philemon Sabbe and others.

In 1974, when the Gazette was threatened with termination, Leon and others made substantial contributions to keep it going. As editor or co-editor, he worked diligently to insure its survival, even with failing eyesight. He entrusted his collection to the Genealogical Society of Flemish Americans. It is now an important part of the "Leon Buyse Library".





# FLEMISH IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA

From: *The Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*/Belgians/Cornelius J. Jaenen

- [Origins](#)
- [Migration](#)
- [Arrival and Settlement](#)
- [Economic Life](#)
- [Family and Kinship](#)
- [Religion](#)
- [Education](#)
- [Community Life and Culture](#)
- [Group Maintenance](#)
- [Further Reading](#)

## Origins

From: *The Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*/Belgians/Cornelius J. Jaenen

The Belgians in Canada trace their origins to the kingdom of Belgium, which, with its ten million inhabitants within 325 square kilometres, is the second most densely populated country in Europe. Belgium's inhabitants are comprised mainly of two linguistic communities: the Flemings, who comprise nearly two-thirds of the country's people, and the Walloons. The Flemings live in the northern half of the country, which includes the provinces of West and East Flanders, Antwerp, Limburg, and most of Brabant. The Walloons are found primarily in the southern provinces of Hainaut, Namur, Liège, Luxembourg, and part of Brabant. The country's capital, Brussels, is formally a bilingual (although predominantly French-speaking) city in the province of Brabant. There is also a small German-speaking enclave along the country's far eastern border with Germany. At present, 9 percent of Belgium's population are foreigners, nearly half of whom live in the Walloon section of the country.

The Flemings and Walloons trace their historic origins to two tribal groups: the Belgae of Celtic background, who were incorporated into the Roman Empire by Julius Caesar in 57 B.C.E.; and the Batavi of Germanic origin who were accorded the status of border allies by the Romans. In a general sense, the Walloons are descendants of the Belgae and the Flemings of the Batavi. Roman rule in the region came to an end in the fourth century A.D. From that time until 1831, the territory of Belgium was either ruled by self-governing secular and ecclesiastical duchies, counties, and free cities or incorporated into a larger kingdom or empire. Among the latter was the Empire of Charlemagne in the early ninth century, the Kingdom of Burgundy (1384–1482), Habsburg Spain (1516–1713), Habsburg Austria (1713–93), and Napoleonic France (1794–1815).

Although the names *Belgae* for a people and *Belgica* to designate the entire territory of the Low Countries were terms used in Roman times, the name *Belgium* was not used in its modern political sense until the end of the eighteenth century. Similarly, the conflict between the country's two largest linguistic communities, the Flemings and Walloons, is also of relatively recent origin, dating from 1830 when the state of Belgium was created.

Following the defeat of Napoleon by a coalition of European powers (the decisive Battle of Waterloo was fought on Belgian soil), the Congress of Vienna (1815) joined the southern "Belgian" provinces with the northern provinces to create the united Kingdom of the Netherlands. This union soon foundered, however, because of profound religious, socioeconomic, and political differences between the Flemings and Walloons, on the one hand, and the Dutch of the northern provinces on the other.

A secessionist movement erupted in Brussels in August 1830 and soon spread quickly throughout Flanders and Wallonia. The revolution was led primarily by the bourgeoisie, which in Flanders as well as Wallonia was French-speaking and enamoured of all things French. After dissolving the political union with the Netherlands, the new kingdom of Belgium adopted French as its official language. This move inaugurated a period during which Flemish culture and Dutch language were reduced to second-class status, and

during which Flemings increasingly resented being subordinated to an officially francophone public environment.

Francophone Wallonia was assured a dominant political and social position in the state, since it was in that region that Belgium's rapid industrialization during the early nineteenth century was concentrated. In Flanders, meanwhile, the bourgeoisie and upper strata continued to speak French, leaving only the devoutly religious rural inhabitants to preserve a traditional way of life that included use of the Flemish dialects of Dutch. By mid-century, Flanders was further impoverished by a famine caused by the failure of the potato crop (1847–50) and the decline of the linen industry for which the region had been famous since the Middle Ages. The declining status of Flanders was in part alleviated by a national revival during which standard Dutch (instead of Flemish dialects) was adopted as a literary language (1844) and writers became engaged in a literary movement that inspired a new sense of pride in Flemish culture and identity during the decades before World War I.

In 1914 Germany invaded Belgium and occupied the country for the next four years. On the one hand, the initial Belgian resistance and the occupation won the country great sympathy in international circles. On the other hand, the country suffered considerable material damage and human losses (more than 80,000 lives) as well as new friction with the Flemings, whose leaders claimed that many of their own soldiers had died in combat as a result of the confusion caused by being under the command of French-speaking officers.

It was such friction that contributed to political activity after the war and the creation in 1926 of the Flemish National Party. Pressure from this party forced the Belgian government to pass a series of laws between 1932 and 1938 that accorded recognition of the Flemings' linguistic demands as well as cultural autonomy for Flanders. These achievements did not, however, satisfy some members of the Flemish National Party who wanted full separation from Wallonia. It is therefore not surprising that during World War II, when Germany once again occupied Belgium, the Nazis had no difficulty finding collaborators from among the ranks of the Flemish National Party.

Wartime collaboration only embittered further the relations between the Walloons and Flemings, each of whom was determined to obtain for its respective group as much self-rule as possible in the post-1945 reconstructed Belgian state. Language almost always was used as the symbolic weapon in the political struggle between the two groups, so that controversy over the "language question" frequently brought the functioning of the Belgian government to a standstill.

At the same time, the 1950s and 1960s witnessed the economic reconstruction of Belgium and its gradual integration into what was to become the European Union. Moreover, the relative position of the country's two basic regions was reversed. Flanders experienced industrial and demographic growth, while Wallonia's older industries and coal mines declined.

In an attempt to resolve ongoing political friction and to respond to the changed socioeconomic realities, a new constitution was drawn up in 1970 that transformed the unitary Belgian state into one that recognized the distinctiveness of three cultural communities (Dutch-speaking, French-speaking, German-speaking) and of three regions (Flanders, Wallonia, and the capital region of Brussels). Finally, in 1988, the constitution was amended once again, with the result that Belgium was transformed into a federal state. Accordingly, the central government, the cultural communities, and the regions are equal, each with its own levels of authority and none of which is able to interfere in matters under the jurisdiction of the other.

At the very same time that Belgium has been decentralizing its internal governmental and administrative structures, it has also been playing a leading role in the integration of Europe. In fact, the administrative capital of the European Union is Brussels, which has ironically at times become for critics of the new Europe a negative symbol of pan-European "interference" in the affairs of member states.

# Migration

From: *The Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*/Belgians/Cornelius J. Jaenen

The Belgians have not been a major colonizing power, although they were involved soon after independence in the early nineteenth century in schemes to establish colonies in Tunisia, Morocco, Ethiopia, and Guatemala. The Belgian Congo (Zaire) was a personal venture in the interests of King Leopold II. In North America, Flemings from Antwerp participated in trade with the Viking colonies of Greenland and Vinland on the east coast of North America during the Middle Ages. After the collapse of these ventures, they held interests in the fishing vessels coming to Newfoundland waters for the lucrative walrus hunt in the fifteenth century. Cartographers such as Gerardus Mercator of Rupelmonde played a key role in the evolution of modern map making and European knowledge of northeastern North America. None of these early commercial ventures or cartographic contributions attracted permanent settlers, however.

The first Belgian immigrants to the New World came either to escape religious persecution or to build a Utopian colony. Walloon Protestants, driven out of the Liège, Hainaut, and Namur regions, made their way to Staten Island in 1624 with their celebrated pastor Pierre Minuit. A few Catholic missionaries, soldiers, and artisans were among those recruited in the early seventeenth century to work in the colony of New France. Following the institution of government under the French crown in 1663, the state sponsored the settlement of a number of soldiers, artisans, and brides, a few of whom were later discovered to be Walloon Protestants or Flemish Lutherans. The intendant, Jean Talon, who had served in Hainaut before coming to New France, hired some Belgian artisans to stimulate building, manufacturing, and mining in the colony. The trickle of artisans from Belgium continued in the eighteenth century; among them was Joseph de l'Estre de Vallon, who designed the presbytery at Quebec in 1725. A Flemish contractor was hired in 1750 for the rebuilding of Louisbourg, along with some quarrymen, bricklayers, brick makers, and lime burners.

After New France was ceded to Britain in 1763, few Belgians, apart from missionaries, settled in British North America. There was some spillover from communities in Michigan, Indiana, and Wisconsin into Upper Canada (Ontario). Others migrated to the mines of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and to towns in Lower Canada (Quebec). As a result, the Belgian government opened consulates in Montreal, Quebec, and Halifax. A Canadian select committee appointed in 1859 to examine immigration to Upper and Lower Canada recommended that assisted passages and grants of free land be extended to Belgians. In response to this new policy, a group of ninety-nine families arrived at Quebec in 1862 under the direction of an independent agent named A.H. Verret. He had been mandated to recruit immigrants in Belgium by offering them the same benefits as were already given to British immigrants.

The creation in 1867 of the Dominion of Canada, with overlapping provincial and federal jurisdiction in the field of immigration, resulted in Quebec, Manitoba, and Ottawa each seeking a share of the migration flow from the port of Antwerp to North America. Legislation was soon in place to provide free land grants and homestead patents to industrious settlers in western Canada. The first federal Immigration Act in 1869 classified Belgium among the "preferred countries," and immigration agents portrayed Quebec and Manitoba, with their Catholic majorities and bilingualism, as particularly suitable places. Edouard Simaey, originally from Tielt in West Flanders, was appointed the first dominion immigration agent for Europe, with offices in Antwerp. Flemish farmers and Walloon miners and industrial workers were considered "desirable" according to the instructions issued to Joseph Marmette, special immigration agent in 1883: "most in demand are farmers, gardeners, agricultural and other labourers, artisans and others qualified for common pursuits; and ordinary domestic servants, female particularly." In addition to assisted steamship passages, bonuses were paid by the federal government to booking agents. Louis

Hacault's *Les Belges au Manitoba* (1894), J.V. Herreboudt's *Le Canada au point de vue de l'émigration* (1890), and Gustaaf Vekeman's *Guide des émigrants au Canada* (1890) enjoyed a wide distribution. Steamship companies published their own immigration propaganda. All recruiting had to be carried out circumspectly because Belgium had placed severe restrictions on emigration after it received reports of gross misrepresentation and exploitation of emigrants.

Minister of the Interior Clifford Sifton's aggressive immigration policy resulted in the appointment in 1898 of Désiré Tréau de Coeli, a trilingual Belgian from Hull, as permanent immigration agent in Antwerp. He gave weekly lectures, published a monthly bulletin in French and Flemish for distribution to teachers, clergy, and ticket agents, ensured Canadian participation at the Universal Exhibition in Liège in 1905, set up a permanent display in Antwerp of prairie grains, fauna, and flora, and arranged educational tours of Canada. He was also party to the clandestine operations of the North Atlantic Trading Company, composed of European shipping agents and organized to divert to Canada immigrants destined for the United States.

Even when the push and pull factors have been strong, Belgians have not emigrated to Canada in large numbers. A governor of the province of Luxembourg once opined that when Walloons left their homeland, it was usually "to become rich, or because of a sense of adventure. Even so, they rarely leave ... without a desire to return." His counterpart in East Flanders commented that Flemings possessed "an extreme, almost exaggerated parochialism" and "decide to leave their native land only as a last resort." Within Belgium, various factors led to increased emigration in the nineteenth century. Throughout most of the century, the country experienced an annual increase in population of more than 9 percent. A *commission du travail*, established by the government in 1886, reported on appalling labour conditions and recommended emigration for the impoverished. Belgians left Flanders for northern France or the industrial centres of Wallonia. However, the small Belgian community in Montreal vehemently opposed the arrival of such "mendicants, vagabonds and fugitives from justice." In any event, Canada was not a first choice of those who decided to go abroad, and the United States was considered much more attractive.

In the early twentieth century, the agricultural Flemish provinces experienced a population explosion and a shortage of arable land. The industrialized Walloon region still offered employment opportunities, although not under the most favourable conditions. Some Belgians chose to leave for personal reasons, such as to escape family tensions, avoid military service, satisfy a desire for adventure, improve their financial circumstances, or join family or friends abroad. The dominance of clerical influence in Flemish political and social life and bitter struggles between socialists, trade unionists, and the partisans of communal schools versus ultra-Catholics in Wallonia were also influences on emigration in this period.

What may be called the first significant wave of Belgian immigration to Canada began in 1906 with the liberalization of immigration criteria under Sifton's successor, Frank Oliver. About 13,000 arrived during the next eight years – miners, navvies, artisans, and a wide spectrum of agriculturalists, including dairymen, market gardeners, fruit growers, and beet and tobacco cultivators. Another fourteen thousand followed in the decade after World War I, constituting the second wave. Among the active recruiters of these immigrants were the railway companies, sugar-beet manufacturers in Ontario and Alberta, and tobacco companies.

Economic pressures after World War II forced more Belgians than ever before to look abroad for a better life. The decline of the coal, iron, and steel industries centred in Wallonia, as well as the loss of the Belgian Congo in 1960 and the return of many professionals and technicians to a depressed economy, provided strong incentives for emigration. However, it is noteworthy that it was the Flemish-speaking region, which was now becoming industrialized, that provided the majority of the emigrants.

In terms of numbers, the third wave of Belgian immigration to Canada from 1945 to 1975 was the most significant: 16,278 immigrants arrived in 1951–60, 6,941 in 1961–70, and 3,534 in 1971–80. However, this immigration did not result in new Belgian settlements. Most of those who arrived went either to urban centres or to the settlements already established by their predecessors. In keeping with shifts in Canadian immigration policy in the 1960s from preferred groups to individuals with desirable education, training, and skills, Belgian immigrants came from the industrial, commercial, and professional sectors more often than from agriculture. Quebec attracted about two-thirds of these immigrants, especially teachers and professors in disciplines outside traditional provincial programs, professionals, and skilled workers in such specialties as biotechnology, aeronautics, and computer science.

The Belgians in Canada today constitute a relatively small community. In the 1961 census, 61,382 persons were identified as being of Belgian origin, but twenty years later only 42,275 were so described. The apparent decline may be explained by confusion between origin and identity on the part of both enumerators and respondents, an increase in mixed marriages, and returns indicating multiple ethnocultural origins. In 1991 only 31,475 persons said that they were of Belgian origin, but another 59,435 indicated Belgian as one of their origins, for a total of 90,910. Flemings outnumber Walloons four to one and are found across the country, with particularly important concentrations in southwestern Ontario and Manitoba. Walloons have gravitated to Quebec and to small francophone communities across the western provinces.

The population of Belgian origin is spread unevenly across the country. In comparative terms, Quebec's share of immigrants declined in the 1980s, while Ontario's increased, and that province also benefited from interprovincial migration. Some of these immigrants and migrants went to Ontario's tobacco belt, but the greater number settled in the commercial and industrial "golden horseshoe" at the western end of Lake Ontario. Elsewhere in Canada, communities have followed the general trend to urbanization and occupational mobility. About 34.6 percent of the total population (both single and multiple origin) is concentrated in Ontario, and Quebec and Manitoba each have about 17 percent. The population is more rural than urban, except in Quebec, where it is overwhelmingly centred in the Montreal region, and in British Columbia, where more than half live in urban communities. In Manitoba one-third are found in the greater Winnipeg region, while in Ontario, Belgian Canadians are concentrated in the southwestern counties: until 1921 in Essex and Kent, but more recently also in Norfolk County and in Metropolitan Toronto.

## Arrival and Settlement

From: *The Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples/Belgians*/Cornelius J. Jaenen

Belgian authorities had from the early days of outmigration been concerned about the welfare of their emigrants. In 1842 regulations had been promulgated governing conditions on board steamships. The following year a commission for the inspection of emigrants was set up, and consular officials were required to include information in their annual reports on the state of Belgian nationals abroad. By the 1890s the port of Antwerp, which was served by all the major shipping lines, had an emigration commissioner with a retinue of inspectors and medical officers to control departures, enforce health standards, root out unscrupulous and unlicensed recruiting agents, and generally counsel and assist emigrants.

Several charitable agencies assisted the officials. The Société de Protection des Émigrants was founded in Antwerp in 1882 in response to a need voiced by Gustaaf Vekeman, a journalist who had emigrated to Sherbrooke. He had deplored the lack of an organization to care for emigrants in a country that had "societies for the improvement of horses, pigeons, canaries and blind finches, and yet there was none to improve the lot of farmers." In 1888 L'Œuvre de l'Archange Raphael was organized in Brussels to provide guidance, shelter, and even financial assistance to emigrant

Catholic families. A network of counsellors in Quebec and Manitoba supplied practical assistance, as well as spiritual guidance. The latter was considered important because clergy in Flanders were beginning to decry the potential loss of faith faced by immigrants to predominantly Protestant areas.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, consuls were reporting numerous cases of fraudulent contracts offered to Belgian miners or agricultural workers in the Maritimes, Ontario, and western Canada. Regulations governing the activities of steamship and immigration agents were tightened up. In 1924 the agronomist Alexandre Lonay came to Quebec to investigate agricultural possibilities for Walloons, and he returned two years later with a group of fifty farmers. Most of them soon left for Ontario and eventually perhaps the United States. As a result, in 1929 Louis Varlez and Lucien Brunin were commissioned to visit and report on all the centres of Belgian immigration in Canada. Their travels were paid for by the provincial governments and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, all of which had an interest in promoting immigration. In their report, Varlez and Brunin commented on the “network of organizations ready to provide information” to newcomers but cautioned Flemish farming immigrants to settle near established fellow countrymen in the new land.

Most of the Belgian immigrants came to Canada on their own, without the support of either the state or private-sector organizations. Still, there were an unusual number of colonization schemes involving Belgian immigrants, only a few of which met with success. These projects were established either by the clergy intent on perpetuating religious loyalties among settlers or by financiers and entrepreneurs pursuing their own interests. The first scheme was organized by Abbé P.J. Verbist, who was appointed immigration agent for the Quebec government in western Europe and published *Les Belges et les Alsaciens-Lorrains au Canada* in 1872. He succeeded in attracting a number of immigrants – merchants, manufacturers, artisans, and market gardeners – who settled around Quebec City, in the Eastern Townships, and as the nucleus of the future colony of Namur near Ottawa. Verbist also encouraged Trappist monks to found a monastery at Sainte-Justine southeast of Quebec City, which would attract Belgian farmers to the neighbourhood. His brief career as a parish priest was terminated because he had engaged in the import business in violation of diocesan regulations.

Not much more successful was Gustaaf Vekeman, who came to Sherbrooke in 1882 with his family intent on founding a colony for members of the exploited working class in his homeland. His innumerable newspaper articles and public lectures attracted only twenty people with a limited amount of capital. He then attempted to interest European investors in purchasing farms and a sawmill, and finally, in 1890 he tried to organize a colony near Sherbrooke with the support of the Société de Protection des Émigrants in Antwerp. Not only were the results meagre, but he was arrested for land speculation.

A third venture was launched in 1886 by C.E. Lodewijcx, who had served as agricultural adviser to the viceroy of Egypt and had been impressed by the Canadian agricultural exhibit in Antwerp. He planned the resettlement of impoverished Flemish farmers in the Lac Mégantic area of Quebec near the Maine border. His projected joint-stock company was scrutinized by the Belgian government for possible violation of the law as it applied to foreign investment. This action so discouraged potential investors that no large-scale settlement took place.

The Quebec government's efforts to attract francophone Catholic immigrants caught the imagination of a Belgian attorney in Montreal, J.V. Herreboudt, who urged the Baron de Haulleville, editor of the ultraconservative *Journal de Bruxelles*, to undertake a colonization project on the Gaspé peninsula. In 1891 Father H.J. Mussely pursued the idea of a colony at the Baie des Chaleurs. Only twenty-five Belgian families were among the seventy or more who settled at Musselyville, and it therefore was never a Belgian enclave.

Colonization schemes in western Canada were less numerous, but more successful. In 1887 the Société d'Immigration Française sent its secretary, accompanied by the Belgian engineer Georges Kaiser, who later recorded his impressions in *Au Canada* (1897), in advance of settlers destined for Manitoba. Three years later Quebec's legendary colonizer Antoine Labelle convinced Louis Hacaault, editor of the conservative *Courrier de Bruxelles*, to visit Manitoba. Hacaault's *Notes de voyage au Canada en 1890* became a successful piece of propaganda in attracting settlers to southern Manitoba. His efforts were seconded by the parish priest for Flemish settlements, Gustaaf Willems, who published *Les Belges au Manitoba: lettres authentiques* (1894), a collection of carefully selected letters from successful pioneers that the Manitoba and dominion governments circulated throughout Belgium. Some immigrants acted as recruiting agents for governments or railway and steamship companies in the communities they had come from. Sebastien Deleau was one such agent; he succeeded in bringing out compatriots from his native province of Luxembourg to a community named after him in western Manitoba. In 1900 Louis Barceel travelled as far west as Edmonton on a tour in the interests of the Société Agricole et Industrielle du Manitoba, which had its headquarters in Antwerp. The following year the Belgian vice-consul in Ottawa, E.R. De Vos, explored British Columbia on behalf of mining and investment concerns as well as to study its agricultural potential.

In his efforts to create a chain of francophone parishes across the prairies, Abbé Jean Gaire turned to Belgium for recruits. He attracted a number of immigrants from that country for his settlements at Grande-Clairière in Manitoba (1888) and at Bellegarde (1891), Cantal (1892), and Wauchope (1904) in what is now Saskatchewan. In 1904 he founded the Société Générale de l'Œuvre de la Colonisation Catholique Française au Canada, with the support of the church hierarchy, to buy up farm lands and hold them for resale to approved immigrants. His colonization plan for the Red Deer region was less successful, and the Société de la Ferme Assiniboia-Alberta was liquidated in 1909 after having brought out only a handful of Belgians. Other colonizing priests were able to attract Walloons and sometimes Flemings to francophone parishes. Such was the experience of Dom Paul Benoît at Notre Dame de Lourdes in Manitoba, Abbé Paul LeFloch at Saint-Brieux in Saskatchewan, and Abbé Jean-Baptiste Morin at Morinville in Alberta.

More spectacular but not much more successful were several utopian colonies. In 1889 eleven aristocrats, including Baron van Brabant, established the elitist community of Saint-Hubert, south of Whitewood in present-day Saskatchewan. They recruited a number of Belgians with agricultural training and skills, built several imposing stone châteaux, opened a chicory-processing plant and a Gruyère cheese factory, and began horse ranching. The aristocrats left when blizzards and prairie fires destroyed their dreams, but their labourers remained, and their numbers were augmented by compatriots, including some agronomists. A second Franco-Belgian project was organized by the Société Foncière du Canada at Montmartre in 1893. The Belgians started a butter and cheese factory, but once again the investors allowed the scheme to founder. A few settlers remained, while other enterprising Belgians moved on to the Okanagan valley in search of better prospects.

In 1903 a utopian experiment took shape at Trochu in what is now Alberta when its stockbroker-founder recruited partners from the military and aristocratic classes to oversee ranching operations, dairying, retailing, and town planning. An ambitious and wealthy entrepreneur from a noted banking family, Joseph Devilder in 1905 incorporated the Sainte-Anne Ranch Trading Company, which assumed control of the settlement scheme. A thriving community developed, but the aristocrats left in 1914 to serve in the Belgian army.

The last colonization project was launched in 1935 by the son of a noted industrialist, Louis Empain, already well known for his work with handicapped children, Pro Juventate. He purchased land from the Sulpicians near Oka to settle carefully selected young families who possessed both farming skills suitable to Quebec conditions and sufficient capital to establish themselves. In this way he hoped to meet the challenges that previous projects had encountered. An Institut Agricole Belge at Oka would provide the basic agricultural education required of the newcomers, who



would be sharecroppers for two years. Empain had some difficulty finding suitable agronomists in Belgium familiar with Canadian conditions to direct the experimental farm and training centre. The outbreak of World War II forced him to abandon a project that had begun well.

## Economic Life

From: *The Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*/Belgians/Cornelius J. Jaenen

Even before there was direct steamship service between Antwerp and Canadian ports, glass products and structural iron and steel were in sufficient demand to sustain a network of Belgian importers and entrepreneurs in Canada. Gérard Macquet in 1887 organized Quebec's department of transport, which undertook the construction of forty-eight metal bridges. The following year the Comptoir Belgo-canadien, formed originally of fourteen major companies, was incorporated to carry out railway construction and public works. From 1902 to 1975 the Belgo-Canadian Paper Company operated successfully at Shawinigan until it was absorbed into what became Consolidated-Bathurst. The Belgian Trade Syndicate in Brussels provided information and personnel for such successful ventures as Alexis Nihon in ceramic, marble, and granite products, the Miron holdings in cement and concrete, and the Simard family in shipbuilding. In 1932 the Liège-based Franki company began the construction of large buildings in cities from Montreal to Vancouver. A few years later, Louis Empain opened a resort centre, Domaine de l'Esterel, in the Laurentians north of Montreal, which featured a luxury hotel, commercial complex, sports club, and theatre.

In Ontario, Union Minière Canada revived the northern mining community of Pickle Lake in 1970. A syndicate of Belgian capitalists in 1891 obtained control of the Atikokan iron mine in the northwestern part of the province and planned a railway (eventually built) from Port Arthur (Thunder Bay). Several financial organizations, backed by Antwerp banks and investment conglomerates, were incorporated to promote settlement on the prairies and in the Okanagan valley and to profit from the urban boom in Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Calgary. In 1929 Léon Dupuis organized the Canadian-Belgian Chamber of Commerce in Vancouver. By using the Hudson Bay railway route, his enterprises had no real competitors in rails, structural steel, wire, cement, and glass until the outbreak of World War II. Belgians became active again in 1945, especially in mining and the petroleum industry. Genestar, Canadian Petrofina, Canadian Hydrocarbons, and Great Northern Gas Utilities are a few of the Belgian-backed companies that have contributed significantly to the economy of the west. By 1960 Belgium ranked just after the United States and Britain in investments in Canada.

A few Belgians had been employed in collieries in Cape Breton as early as the seventeenth century, but it was not until the 1880s that miners from Hainaut were actively recruited. The Dominion Coal Company employed several hundred at the Glace Bay, Dominion, and Reserve Mines. In 1906 the company also began to recruit in the province of Liège. A contract provided for assisted passage to Sydney, a stipulated salary, and a schedule for repayment of the travel advance. What recruiting agents failed to clarify were the working conditions and the company's monopoly of housing and the local store. Dissatisfied with conditions in Cape Breton, many of the men migrated to the mining centres of Inverness, Pictou, and Stellarton and eventually to Pennsylvania. The pattern of migration continued as miners moved on from the United States to Vancouver Island, Crowsnest Pass, Lethbridge, and Drumheller. In the company-built housing near the mines, various ethnocultural groups tended to form enclaves. At Reserve Mines the concentration of shacks known locally as Belgium Town was renowned for its house parties and the "Friday night friction" with local Scots. Near every mine the Belgians had their own boarding-houses operated by miners' wives, who also attended to elementary medical needs.

Walloon miners had a reputation for being radical and anticlerical, and they were well acquainted with the tradition of working men's political associations when they came to Nova Scotia. In 1909 they were caught up in a bitter struggle between the Dominion Coal Company and the United Mine Workers of America, which was seeking certification. There were strikes at other Nova Scotia mines in the pre-war years. At Springhill, Jules Lavenne emerged as a militant leader and member of the Socialist Party of Canada. As a result of the labour unrest that characterized mining in the province up to 1914, most of the Belgians, like those in Cape Breton earlier, moved on to mining communities elsewhere on the continent.

In 1888 James Dunsmuir had hired for his Vancouver Island collieries a number of Belgian miners anxious to flee the aftermath of strikes and riots in Liège and Charleroi. They were given exaggerated accounts of working conditions in the mines, and complaints soon began appearing in Belgian newspapers. There were frequent work stoppages, but a royal commission in 1903 was told by Dunsmuir that he would not keep any workers on his payroll who joined a union. When miners at Ladysmith and Comox went on strike for better wages and safer working conditions, Chinese replacement workers were brought in. By 1912, using experience gained in Belgium, Nova Scotia, and Pennsylvania, Belgian workers led in the organization of the Syndicalist League of North America. They also formed a Miners Liberation League to work for the release of organizers arrested at Cumberland and Ladysmith. Eventually the majority of these men moved into other sectors of the wage economy.

At the turn of the century, miners from Wallonia had begun arriving in Alberta to work for West Canadian Collieries, founded in 1903 by French and Belgian entrepreneurs, and Canadian Coal Consolidated, a Paris-based firm. Léon Cabeaux, a well-known union leader who had organized a particularly violent strike in Hainaut in 1886, settled in Lethbridge and soon attracted disgruntled compatriots from collieries in Pennsylvania. As elsewhere, the Walloon miners became involved in labour radicalism. Mine disasters in Alberta were among the worst anywhere, and there were no provisions for the welfare of families of miners maimed or killed at the workplace. Among the local leaders were Frank Soulet, Joseph Lothier, and Gustave Henry. Henry, who had come to Lethbridge by way of Cape Breton and British Columbia, was ordered deported in 1925 on the grounds that he had been convicted of theft. His appeal to the Supreme Court of Alberta was successful, however, and he was permitted to remain in Canada.

In another celebrated case in 1925, a police constable in Drumheller seriously injured a Belgian youth named Lambert Renners. In the courts the case turned on the legality of picketing, but the lower courts concentrated on an allegation that Renners was a member of the Young Communist League. Although the Labour Defence League supported his appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada, he lost the case and never received compensation. Such incidents embittered the Belgian community and turned it against the Communist Party, which was perceived as having divided the community. In Blairmore, bitterness was also directed against the Catholic Church as part of the "establishment."

As early as 1896 Belgians from overseas and migrants from North Dakota had come in search of employment in the lignite mines around Estevan and Bienfait in what is now Saskatchewan. Conditions were no better than elsewhere, but it was not until 1931 that the miners went on strike. Police and firemen broke up a rally at the Estevan town hall, injuring scores of people and killing three workers. Louis Revay was among those immigrants arrested, charged with unlawful assembly, and ordered deported.

In agriculture, Belgians have excelled in five specialties: market gardening, dairying, and the cultivation of sugar beets, tobacco, and fruit. In Quebec a couple of Flemings in the 1870s experimented with flax growing and market gardening near Saint-Hyacinthe, and later in the century, Belgian experience in intensive farming worked wonders when applied to the province's

previously haphazard approach to farming. In 1903 Johann Beetz introduced silver-fox farming, which became a lucrative business.

In Ontario, market gardening was undertaken by newcomers to the Windsor and Lake St Clair regions. After World War II, Leamington became the canning and food-processing centre for the southwestern part of the province. At the Klondyke Gardens, Gerhard Vanden Bussche produced quality vegetables on what had been an unproductive marsh. He also pioneered overhead irrigation for tomatoes and strawberries and new greenhouse watering systems. In Manitoba, market gardening boomed throughout the inter-war years around Winnipeg, but after World War II Belgians moved out of this activity into urban occupations. Belgians also took up market gardening in the Fraser valley of British Columbia, but they never dominated the enterprise there as they had in Manitoba.

The success of fruit growing in the Okanagan valley began in 1890 with the Okanagan Land and Development Company, in which eight Belgians held shares. Seven years later the Belgo-Canadian Fruit Lands Company, with headquarters in Antwerp, began operations. By 1908 a number of its shareholders had formed their own Belgian Orchard Syndicate, bought land from the parent company, planted seventeen thousand apple trees, and built their own packing house. The syndicate was reportedly selling 40,000 boxes of apples and considerable quantities of pears, peaches, plums, onions, and tomatoes annually by 1936. Belgian immigrants had also started to grow celery on a large scale around Enderby and Armstrong before World War II.

No less successful although short-lived were other enterprises in British Columbia. In 1909 the Belgo-Canadian Land Company invested in undeveloped lands east of Kelowna, imported Italian workers, and built up productive orchards under irrigation. The following year, the Vernon Orchard Company, organized in Belgium, developed orchards near Swan Lake. In 1912 the Antwerp-based Land and Agricultural Company of Canada invested money from land sales in Saskatchewan in the irrigation of a vast acreage and expanded operations around Vernon in apple orchards and sheep grazing. These developments helped to turn the Okanagan into a prime fruit-producing area and employed Belgian immigrants and their descendants in an area once considered semi-desert.

Flemings first became established as dairy farmers around Montreal and Sherbrooke. In southwestern Ontario, those who had first taken up mixed farming soon changed to dairying or market gardening. In 1879 the Bossuyt brothers were the first of many Belgians to begin dairying in the suburbs of Winnipeg. Nuyttens, Van Wallegghem, and Anseeuw became familiar names to Winnipeg householders. These families dominated milk production until the 1950s. The Bossuyt dairy in Fort Whyte and later Oak Bluff Station was a show-place for the industry and was also well known in the Depression years for paying high wages to its workers and providing free milk to the poor. Urban sprawl eventually took over much of the valuable land of these dairies, and the children for the most part pursued other careers. By the 1970s the golden age of Belgian dairying in Manitoba had come to an end. At about the same time, Belgians took up the occupation in the Richelieu valley south of Montreal.

As part of the provincial government's effort to modernize agriculture, Belgian farmers introduced the growing of sugar beets, hops, and chicory. Their association with beets had a long history – the vegetable had been grown in Belgium since the early nineteenth century. In 1875 the Quebec government became interested in this crop not only as a source of sugar but also as a means of promoting francophone immigration. Factories were established in Berthierville, Coaticook, and Farnham with French and German capital and Belgian expertise. Within a decade, however, the Quebec experiment proved unprofitable. The Ontario Agricultural College in Guelph then successfully tested the crop on nearby farms, and local businessmen invited entrepreneurs in Michigan, where a thriving beet-sugar industry used Belgian fieldworkers, to start up a plant in Wallaceburg in 1902. Seventy Flemings, who had been employed as seasonal workers in

northern France, were brought in and Ontario provincial subsidies obtained for refineries in Wallaceburg, Dresden, Wiarton, and Berlin (Kitchener), but only the Dominion Sugar Company in Wallaceburg survived. In 1912 the company began recruiting workers in Flanders, and during World War I, when a second plant was opened in Chatham, employees were also obtained from Belgian settlements in Wisconsin and Michigan. After the war the company provided subsidized fares for immigrants, who were housed by compatriots on the small farms they had acquired. In this way, Belgian communities were built up around Chatham, Windsor, and Sarnia. The Depression of the 1930s affected the industry, and dissatisfied workers began leaving for the more-lucrative tobacco culture. Others, especially the youth, sought employment in glass, plastics, and auto-accessories manufacturing. By the end of World War II, Belgians were no longer closely associated with beet-sugar production in the region.

Beet growing had been introduced in Alberta, with a hefty provincial subsidy to a Utah company, in 1903. The Knight Sugar Company hired Flemish migratory workers for the back-breaking labour in fields around Raymond, promising them passage money, housing, and even a cow. However, the twenty-seven families who arrived in 1912 were bitterly disappointed because none of the promises were kept. The company closed down when the subsidy ran out in 1914, and the immigrant workers were left stranded. In 1925 another Utah company opened a plant in Raymond. The families recruited in Belgium were dissatisfied with housing provisions – sometimes only remodelled chicken coops or granaries – and wages, and they formed a Beet Workers' Industrial Union. The British Columbia Sugar Company acquired ownership of the Alberta refinery in 1931 and set about dividing the growers and their hired workers in order to break down any common front against management. Work stoppages resulted in the recruiting of scab workers, as had been the case in the collieries. In 1941 the growers were able to use displaced Japanese Canadians as cheap labour, and so the remaining Belgians left.

In 1939 Baron Kronacher and a New York investor had opened a sugar refinery in Fort Garry, Manitoba. Dairy farmers living near the plant, mostly Flemings, began growing sugar beets on a crop-sharing basis. In 1955 the British Columbia Sugar Company also acquired the Manitoba refinery and eventually closed it down. By this time, prospective workers in Belgium had good reason to heed the warnings of their consular officials and emigration societies against the industry. The conditions that the workers now demanded were not acceptable to employers, and recruitment of Belgian fieldworkers came to an end.

It was primarily tobacco that drew Belgians away from market gardening and beet growing in southwestern Ontario. The first immigrants had not been active in the production of air-cured tobacco in Essex and Kent counties, but when flue-cured tobacco was introduced as a commercial crop around Tillsonburg and Delhi in the 1920s, Belgians were among the first to become involved. By this time 63 percent of Belgians in Ontario had migrated to Kent, Essex, and Lambton counties. The tobacco buyers exploited the small farmers through a system of barn buying, and the growers' plight was aggravated by the onset of the Depression and a decline in prices. Although the large, cohesive family functioned well as a unit of production, many growers became hopelessly indebted. Flemings in 1932 helped to form the Southern Ontario Flue-Cured Tobacco Growers' Association, which filed a complaint with the combines investigation bureau that the tobacco companies were price fixing. When it was unsuccessful, the growers organized their own marketing association with representatives from both growers and buyers, an arrangement that remained in effect until they adopted the European system of selling by auction in 1957. They also organized a Tobacco Growers Cooperative in Kingsville to buy, redry, and pack the crop. In the 1950s about twenty Flemish growers left Ontario to establish tobacco culture around Joliette in Quebec. Others introduced the crop to Nova Scotia in 1958, Prince Edward Island the following year, and New Brunswick in 1963.

The communities of Tillsonburg, Delhi, Simcoe, and Aylmer relied on tobacco wealth to build malls, banquet halls, and sports complexes and to send their youth to university. The harvest

attracted about ten thousand transients each year to southwestern Ontario. Beginning in 1966, students sent out from Belgium to bring in the harvest also gave language lessons, staged plays, and put on concerts to reawaken an awareness of Flemish culture. Domestic tobacco consumption began to decline rapidly in the mid-1980s; many Belgians in the region therefore turned to growing vegetables and small fruits for local canneries. The youth increasingly looked to the urban centres for employment.

In 1872 Count Leopold d'Arschot brought out workers for a potato-starch, vinegar, and glue factory he intended to open in Quebec City. Single men coming to Saint-Boniface in western Canada often remained there to work in the local brickyards, lumber yards, abattoirs, meat-packing plants, and flour mills. In Weyburn, Saskatchewan, such numbers found employment, especially in the brickyards, that a section became known as Belgium Town. Some immigrants who found seasonal employment as freighters or lignite miners in the southern prairies worked in the factories of Chicago or Moline in Illinois during the winter months. In 1905 François Adam, an engineer who had taken up fur trading, turned his Alberta ranch into the townsite for Camrose, where he built twelve large business blocks and operated several businesses.

After World War II, Belgians were caught up in the movement from rural to urban communities. This pattern was particularly evident in the greater Winnipeg area, where insurance agencies, hardware stores, lumber yards, plumbing, building and electrical supplies, and bakeries bore recognizably Belgian names. In Ontario, Belgians became car dealers, innkeepers, insurance agents, salespeople, and retailers. Some started their own businesses; particularly successful was Michael DeGroote's trucking company in Elliot Lake, which developed into the giant Laidlaw group of enterprises. After 1950, Belgian immigrants to the Montreal area made their mark as teachers, university professors, researchers, doctors, bankers, brokers, musicians, and artists.

## Family and Kinship

From: *The Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples/Belgians*/Cornelius J. Jaenen

During the first decade of immigration to western Canada, Walloons showed a greater tendency than Flemings to come as family units. Flemings from the agricultural regions of Belgium usually sent one or two young men, occasionally the head of a family, to scout out the country, earn some capital, and so pave the way for relatives, and eventually neighbours, to follow in chain migration. The community of Manor, Saskatchewan, for example, drew almost exclusively upon the Lommel area of Limburg province, which was not otherwise a usual source of immigration to Canada.

Both Flemish and Walloon immigrants brought with them strong traditions of a patriarchal family that functioned as an economic unit. For example, the practice of unmarried children turning over their earnings to the head of the household until such time as they married, coupled with the tradition of families of both the bride and the groom equipping the new household according to their means, was transplanted to Canada. Such a family structure and the pooling of family resources were an asset in pioneering days in the prairie west. They were an asset, too, in southwestern Ontario during the Depression of the 1930s, when tobacco farmers were able to survive largely because of combined family labour and financial resources. The oral history survey compiled by the Multicultural History Society of Ontario in the Delhi tobacco belt in 1977 indicated that almost 90 percent of Belgian tobacco growers had been farm labourers when they arrived and that they had emigrated to improve their financial status. Family ties were most important; scarcely any gave political considerations and none gave religious reasons for choosing Canada over other destinations. About two-thirds had come as family units, conscious of the need for labour and capital, and two out of five respondents said that they had not intended to remain permanently in Canada. The family units were most inclined to remain.

The role of women was particularly crucial in mining and agriculture. In addition to running boarding-houses for single men, they tended the kitchen gardens, did the domestic work, cared for the children, and organized the social life of the ethnocultural enclaves though their names do not survive in most archival records. Women's sustaining role was never better demonstrated than during the Depression on prairie farms. They made clothes from whatever material was available, watered the surviving vegetables, cared for the chickens and pigs, milked the cows, and strove to maintain family morale. Because the traditional concept that a man should provide for his family was upheld, the men desperately sought supplementary work in lumber camps or mines. Guy Vanderhaeghe in the collection *Man Descending* (1982) has captured the complete demoralization of his Flemish father in these years as he lost his employment and then his self-esteem.

## Religion

From: *The Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*/Belgians/Cornelius J. Jaenen

From colonial times, Belgians have participated in Roman Catholic missionary work in Canada. Recollets of the Franciscan order were the first to evangelize the "upper country" around the Great Lakes in the early seventeenth century. They also laboured in the parishes of New France, served as chaplains at military posts in the interior, and ministered to fishermen and Micmac on the Gaspé peninsula. The Belgian Recollets Zénobe Membré, Louis Hennepin, Luc Buisset, and Maxime Le Clercq accompanied René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle in search of the Mississippi River. Hennepin's voluminous travel accounts were widely read and greatly influenced European opinion concerning the New World. Chrestien Le Clercq of Bapaume developed a system of writing for the Micmac of the Gaspé and also composed an authoritative history of the early Recollet mission, *Premier établissement de la foy dans la Nouvelle-France* (1691).

Another religious order that played an important role in New France, and that included several Belgian members, were the Jesuits. Philippe Pierson ministered to the Huron tribes on the Upper Great Lakes and to the Sioux for almost two decades, and François de Crespieu laboured among the Montagnais on the north shore of the St Lawrence. In the eighteenth century, Jean-Baptiste Tournois presided over the mission to the Iroquois at Sault-Saint-Louis (Kahnawaké). A long-time missionary to the Huron at Detroit, Pierre-Philippe Potier served native and French parishioners at the site of present-day Windsor until his death in 1781. During his brief term as fourth bishop of Quebec in the 1730s, Pierre-Herman Dosquet, a native of Liège, attempted to bring order into parochial finances, enforce proper discipline on parish priests, reform monastic rules, eradicate the brandy traffic with natives, and raise educational standards.

In 1821 Abbé Charles Nerinckx recruited nine candidates at Mechelen for missions in the northwest, among them Pierre-Jean De Smet, a Jesuit who in 1845–46 undertook missionary journeys into the Kootenay region and as far north as Fort Edmonton and Jasper House. Another pioneer missionary was Auguste-Joseph Brabant. After learning the Wakashan tongue of the Hesquiat, who lived on northern Vancouver Island, he established a mission among them in the 1870s. During his many years of labour, he became an authority on the history and customs of these people.

Among the Belgian and Dutch priests brought out by the first bishop of Vancouver Island, Modeste Demers, was Charles-John Seghers of Gent, who became diocesan administrator in 1871 and succeeded Demers as bishop two years later. He extended the Church's work to native communities as far north as Yukon and established educational and charitable institutions for the diocese. Seghers was succeeded at Victoria by Jean-Baptiste Brondel from Mechelen, who is remembered for having decreed that all missionary work, whether with natives or Europeans, would be conducted in English. These bishops laid the foundations of an enduring Catholic

presence on the Pacific coast. Their present-day successor, Remi DeRoo, who comes from a Flemish community in Manitoba, is well known as one of the most progressive voices in the Canadian Catholic Church.

The first Belgian members of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate arrived at Lac La Biche in present-day Alberta in 1874. A decade later Leonard Van Tighem began teaching the Blackfoot at a residential school south of Calgary as well as serving three pioneer communities. Transferred to Lethbridge in 1888, he later served at Taber, where he laid the foundations of a school of agriculture and showed ranchers how to grow fruits and vegetables. During the next century, at least forty-six other Belgian Oblates devoted their lives to native and isolated European communities. They taught in boarding-schools for native children, composed dictionaries and grammars of native languages, and evangelized over a vast territory. Charles Choque, a Walloon, worked for many years among the Inuit and wrote two books about his heroic confrères, *Kajualuk* and *Joseph Béliard, pêcheur d'hommes*.

Other religious orders from Belgium, such as the Priests of the Sacred Heart, the La Salette Congregation, and the Congregation of the Brothers of Good Works, came to work among their compatriots or in new fields of church activity, but they found an undercurrent of opposition to “foreign intrusion.” As early as 1899, British Columbians had indicated that they did not want another Belgian prelate, and the Quebec hierarchy in 1903 informed Rome that it did not wish to have French or Belgian bishops. Belgian missionaries concluded that Anglo-Saxon racism and French-Canadian nationalism were unwitting allies in excluding them.

In 1879 Belgian Redemptorists took over the healing centre and shrine at Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré from their American co-religionists. They conducted Advent and Lenten preaching missions throughout Quebec and soon extended their activities to other communities in western Canada in response to an invitation from the archbishop of Saint-Boniface. Father Achille Delaere arrived from Flanders to minister to the Ukrainians, a task that he realized would eventually lead to the Catholic Eastern Rite and Church Slavonic rather than Latin. In 1901 he and four companions were assigned to open a monastery in Yorkton. Other Redemptorists or Basilians were put in charge of Ukrainian parishes such as Komarno in Manitoba and Ituna in Saskatchewan. Delaere launched a modest Ukrainian-language church paper, *Holos Spasytelia* (Redeemer’s Voice; Yorkton, Sask., 1933– ). The Belgians began to retire from this pioneer work as Ukrainian Canadians joined the priesthood.

Flemish communities in southwestern Ontario had benefited from the proximity of Belgian clergy in the United States. The diocese of Detroit, where many Belgians lived, had been erected in 1833, and it had a succession of bishops and administrators of Belgian origin, who paid attention to the needs of the Flemings, including those in Canada. The Fathers van Scheut, as members of the Immaculate Heart of Mary Mission Society were popularly known, came regularly to minister, as did the Dutch Priests of the Sacred Heart in London. Franciscan friars at Chatham also took a special interest in parishes with a concentration of Flemings. In 1927 Capuchin monks opened a monastery in Blenheim and were given a special mission to serve Dutch and Flemish Catholics. The Capuchins found that many families were irregular in church attendance and gave little financial support to their parishes, probably because they were unaccustomed to the voluntarist tradition in Canada. Through the monks’ perseverance, many families were brought back into active church life, and separate schools received more enthusiastic support.

In Saint-Boniface Walloons worshipped with other francophones at the cathedral, while Flemings were assigned a chapel where Fathers De Munter and Van den Bossche cared for them. In 1917 Canada’s only Flemish parish was created in the Belgium Town section of Saint-Boniface, and ten years later it was assigned to Capuchins from Ontario. Full services, including catechism, confessions, sermons, and retreats, were offered in Flemish until 1935, when catechism was taught in English only, and 1955, when all sermons were given in English. The Capuchins in 1931



had agreed to open a small monastery at Toutes Aides, a community three hundred kilometres northwest of Winnipeg, from which they served not only Belgians but many other ethnocultural groups and native peoples in at least five mission stations. A number of Belgian monks came to Toutes Aides until 1972, when the charge was turned over to the Oblates.

Other Roman Catholic religious communities from Belgium have also made a contribution. At Oka in Lower Canada, three Trappist monks in 1862 started a monastery in an isolated community where they built a grist mill, sawmill, and cheese factory. Benedictine monks from the abbey of Saint-Wandrille arrived at Saint-Benoît-du-Lac on Lac Memphrémagog in 1912, led by Dom Joseph Pothier, internationally known for his restoration of the Gregorian chant in modern worship. Their abbey has become an important pilgrimage site. The Brothers of Mercy from Mechelen opened a boarding-school and agricultural college in Swan Lake, Manitoba, in 1919. Four years later they took over an agricultural orphanage at Huberdeau, founded by Marist Fathers. In 1949 Premonstratensians from Tongerlo built a monastery at Lacolle south of Montreal. Some of their monks served in parishes as far away as Alberta. Brothers of Our Lady of Lourdes in 1959 opened the Dom Bosco Home in Calgary for emotionally disturbed teenagers and later a private school for boys in Nelson, British Columbia.

## Education

From: *The Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*/Belgians/Cornelius J. Jaenen

Belgians in Canada have created few educational institutions for themselves, but they have been active in promoting centres of learning, particularly in Quebec. Belgian educators were considered to possess fewer “imperialist” or republican views than the metropolitan French, although the Quebec clergy did come to view them as being extraordinarily independent in their thinking. When the Université Laval was organized in 1852, it relied heavily on its counterpart in Louvain, Belgium as a model. In 1908 Auguste-Joseph de Bray of Louvain organized the École des Hautes Études Commerciales in Montreal, supervised its construction, and hired its staff. It went on to great success under the direction of Henry Laureys, an economic geographer by training, who added a simulated trading establishment and a museum of commerce and industry to the institution. Alfred Fyen, a former officer in the Belgian army, headed a number of trade schools in Quebec. In 1907 he took charge of a new institution for the training of surveyors in Quebec City, and the following year he became director of the École Polytechnique in Montreal. He founded the École des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels in 1912 and subsequently the École d’architecture. To each institution he brought a strong sense of organization and discipline.

Charles De Koninck played an important role in university affairs as professor and dean of the faculty of philosophy at Laval from 1934 to 1965. He surprised many by advocating a non-confessional school system to replace the dual-confession model still in place in Quebec during the reform years of the 1960s. As school enrolments in the province mushroomed, Belgium was a source of teachers from the kindergarten level through to graduate school. Because their diplomas were not always correctly evaluated, the teachers in Montreal formed the Association des Diplômés de Belgique to assert their rights. There is little doubt that their liberal ideas contributed not only to the reform years of the 1960s (commonly known as the Quiet Revolution) in the province but also to the student movement in its universities and colleges.

The work of Gustave Francq in labour relations in Quebec might also be regarded as educational. In the early twentieth century, he was active as a union executive, militant member of the Labour Party fighting for the eight-hour day and for universal suffrage, organizer of working-class clubs in Montreal, and owner and editor of the bilingual *Le Monde ouvrier/Labour World*, a newspaper that first appeared in 1916 with a mission to educate the public about labour, class, and gender issues. Francq served as president of the provincial Minimum Wage Commission, organized sports

facilities and food cooperatives, and lobbied for minimum-wage legislation and women's rights until his death in 1952.

Elsewhere in Canada, Belgians generally accepted the existing separate school systems and worked within them. The Sisters of Notre-Dame-de-Namur came from Cincinnati to open a school in Vankleek Hill in eastern Ontario in 1886 and later branched out to Saint-Eugene, Masson, and Chapleau. Another Belgian order, the Ursuline Sisters from Tildonk, arrived at Bruxelles in southern Manitoba in 1914 to take charge of the village school, which they ran for the next thirty years. Within the public system, they have maintained some instruction in French to the present day. Louis Hacault became actively involved on behalf of francophone Catholics in the celebrated Manitoba school question of the 1890s. Walloons in particular supported the bilingual schools that operated in the province between 1897 and 1916 and the limited French instruction in the public system thereafter. In the North-West Territories (present-day Manitoba and Saskatchewan), Bellegarde had the first francophone Catholic school, and after the province of Saskatchewan was established in 1905, the school successfully resisted provincial regulations designed to limit French instruction. The parish priest at Prud'homme, Maurice Baudoux, became a staunch supporter of French rights and campaigned successfully for radio broadcasts in that language in western Canada, before he became archbishop of Saint-Boniface.

Belgians created only one educational institution serving their own community alone, Scheppers College at Swan Lake in rural Manitoba. Brothers of Our Lady of Mercy in Mechelen planned a boys' boarding-school and college offering basic agricultural and manual training, together with academic subjects and religious instruction, in Dutch for Flemish students. Classes began in an imposing brick structure in the autumn of 1920. Each year there were between sixty and seventy-five boys in boarding, in addition to local day scholars. The Depression played havoc with this experiment, and by 1929 the institution was in financial trouble, registration was dropping off, and immigration schemes to bring out more Flemish settlers were on hold. The school closed three years later, leaving an empty building on the outskirts of the village as the sole reminder of this attempt at Flemish education in Canada.

## Community Life and Culture

From: *The Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*/Belgians/Cornelius J. Jaenen

In addition to holding important positions in universities, academies, learned societies, libraries, archives, and museums, Belgians have made significant contributions in music, the theatre, and the fine arts. Behind the founding of the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Montreal in 1873 was the colonizing priest P.J. Verbist. Guillaume-Joseph Mechtler, said to have been the first Canadian to be paid for his compositions, was organist of Notre-Dame church in Montreal from 1792 to 1832. Famous organists in the twentieth century included Benoît Verdickt at Lachine, Auguste Leyssens at Sorel, and Joseph Vermandere at St Joseph's Oratory in Montreal from 1919 to 1937. The renowned violists Jules Hone and Frantz Jehin-Prume settled in Montreal in the 1860s. Jehin-Prume in 1891 founded the Association Artistique de Montréal, Quebec's first professional chamber music society, among whose members were gifted compatriots Erasme Jehin-Prume and Jean-Baptiste Dubois. The latter gave classes for the general public paid for by the provincial government. Sohmer Park, inaugurated in 1889, featured Belgian musicians in its concerts, and many of them remained in Quebec to teach music. Joseph-Jean Goulet, for example, played an important role in the founding of the Montreal Symphony Orchestra, which began with a core of Belgian musicians in 1894. His brother Jean conducted choral productions in Montreal until 1955 for the Société Canadienne d'Oérette and the Variétés Lyriques. In 1933 Henri Vermandere started and for many years directed the choir school called the Petits Chanteurs à la Croix de Bois. At about the same time, pianist Severin Moisse and violinist Maurice Onderet began their distinguished careers as soloists and teachers in Montreal.

The internationally known paintings of Henri Leopold Masson, a native of Namur, reflect his love of the Gatineau region near Ottawa. Among the other artists of Belgian origin who have attained regional fame are Francis Coutellier, Guy Gosselin, Michel Meerts, Jan Mirck, Claire Miron, and Raymonde and Léon Planteux. In sculpture, Marcel Braitstein, Yosef Gertrudis Drenters, Auguste Hammerechts, and Pierre Hayvaert have been outstanding. Hayvaert is remembered especially for his work for the Quebec pavilion at Expo 67.

In 1902 Alphonse Ghysens laid the groundwork for an organization to bring his compatriots in Montreal together. The result was the incorporation the following year of the Union Belge, with a number of community personalities, including the Count de Bellefroid and Baron Kerwyn de Lettenhoven, on its executive committee. It organized such public festivities as the annual Belgian Independence Day parade through the streets of Montreal each July and the distribution of gifts to children on St Nicholas Day (6 December) and provided a meeting place for reunions, dances, card parties, and Breugelian meals. During the 1930s the society suffered from declining membership, since immigration had virtually ceased, and from financial problems, but it was reorganized and given new vitality in 1939 as the Union Nationale Belge.

The Union Belge had from its inception brought together both Walloons and Flemings. However, in 1915 each linguistic group founded its own association, the Flemings the Société Moedertaal and the Walloons the Club Wallon de Montréal. They were both short-lived, having disappeared by 1920. The idea of separate associations resurfaced in 1964 in the Vlaamse Kring van Montreal, housed on the premises of the Union Nationale Belge, and the Association Belge de Langue Française de Montréal, creation of the ethnocentric Walloon “nationalist” François Charmanne. He promoted both Walloon folklore and Québécois nationalism through his newspaper *Le Coq wallon* (Montreal) and appears to have alienated some of his compatriots in so doing.

In Manitoba the Belgians organized few associations to preserve their language and cultural heritage. From the turn of the century, Walloons in Saint-Boniface participated in both the drama group Cercle Molière and the Société Lyrique Gounod. The Flemish community organized the La Vérendrye band in 1912 and three years later the Onder Ons dramatic club. Rural communities such as Bruxelles and Sainte-Rose du Lac had their own Belgian brass bands, but after World War II these became multicultural community groups.

The major institution in western Canada was the Club Belge in Saint-Boniface, founded in 1905 largely through the efforts of Louis de Nobele, who had been active in assisting immigrants from his homeland. It began as a social and cultural organization with a special mission to assist newcomers. Here immigrants could obtain information about jobs and persons to contact as they made their way westward. Although it was strictly non-partisan, people came to discuss political and social issues, community concerns, and business affairs. The benevolent and charitable activities of the club multiplied rapidly: a ladies’ auxiliary in 1926 “to further the moral and material aspirations of the Club,” a Belgian Mutual Benefit Society in 1928 to administer a distress fund, and a Belgian Credit Union Society in 1939 in cooperation with the Flemish Sacred Heart parish. By 1940 it had ceased to be a clearing-house for immigrants and had begun attracting members from the business community. It also became the umbrella organization for various sports and recreational activities associated with Belgians on the prairies. To this end it operated a branch in Sainte-Rose du Lac for twenty years. The club sponsored and publicized the activities of archery groups, Belgian bowling tournaments, bicycle racing, and pigeon racing. Provincial semi-finalists still compete at the “national” finals in Detroit or southwestern Ontario. At its inception the club operated in both French and Flemish, but now official minutes and correspondence are in English. At present it functions largely as a benevolent society and is frequented by members of other ethnic groups.

In Ontario the Flemish nationalist movement made itself felt through a number of cultural organizations. Theatrical companies from Detroit toured centres in the southwestern part of the

province in the 1920s. In that decade as well, an association known as Den Vriendenkring opened a school in Leamington to teach Flemish, and the Vlaanderen's Kerels in Big Point near Chatham started public instruction in Flemish language and culture. In Wallaceburg the De Goldendag group promoted various cultural activities, while in Windsor a Flemish choir flourished.

After the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the visit of a special mission to American and Canadian cities aroused popular indignation against Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality and alleged German atrocities and forged strong links between Belgium and Canada. During the next four years, Belgium's valiant resistance in the war saw the organization throughout Canada of the Belgian Relief Fund and support of the Red Cross in its efforts to provide food for children in the occupied zone. Following the war the Belgian War Veterans Association and the National Federation of Former Prisoners of War were established. The Royal Canadian Legion welcomed the Filiale Albert I. A campaign to raise funds for the restoration of the university in Louvain met with strong support, especially in Quebec.

The war also stimulated Flemish nationalism, which was reflected in the organization in Michigan in 1919 of Flandria-America. This association was dedicated to reawakening ethnocultural awareness and pride, and its activities quickly spread into Ontario. Adolf Spillemaeckers regularly visited communities in that province to promote Flemish plays, concerts, public readings, and lectures under the banner of Flandria-America in the inter-war period.

In the 1930s Louis Empain brought together a number of prominent politicians and diplomats with the object of forming an association to promote cultural and social ties between Belgium and Canada. The result was the elitist Association Belgique-Canada, which sponsored lectures, concerts, exhibitions, formal receptions, and an annual ball. During World War II the association organized many forms of aid to Belgian victims of the war and occupation.

Most of the organizations mentioned above have long since collapsed. At present, there are four major Belgian clubs in Canada. Two were organized near the turn of the century in Montreal and Saint-Boniface; the other two were established after World War II in Delhi and Sabrevois. In 1948 the tobacco-belt Belgians felt the need for a clubhouse in Delhi for their social, recreational, and cultural activities. The club became the focal point for the traditional bicycle races, pigeon races, and Belgian bowling and pole-archery tournaments. In 1962 the Belgian dairymen of the Richelieu valley built the Club Belgo-canadien in Sabrevois. Unlike the other Belgian clubs, its activities are more social than cultural or benevolent, and it has become a meeting place for more than Belgians.

A unique association, Belgians in the World, made its appearance in Ontario in 1962. Its true ethnic and nationalist mission was revealed soon afterwards when it was renamed Vlamingen in de Wereld (Flemings in the World), and in 1965 a congress of representatives from all over the globe was organized in Brussels. Canadian Flemings were represented by delegates from the Belgian clubs in Saint-Boniface and Delhi and from Tillsonburg. Among the exchanges that resulted was the sending of university students from Flanders to Canada to harvest tobacco during the day and spend the evenings promoting Flemish language and culture. This combination of fieldworkers and cultural agents continued until the mid-1980s. Since then, small groups of students have come to Canada, but they are now composed of both Walloons and Flemings and have a less obvious sociopolitical agenda.

The first generation of Walloon immigrants were more literate than their Flemish counterparts, and as francophones they subscribed either to newspapers from Belgium or to French-Canadian publications. The Flemings have had their own newspapers from the United States, including the *Gazette van Moline* (Moline, Ill., 1907–40), incorporated in 1940 into the *Gazette van Detroit* (Detroit, 1914–).

# Group Maintenance

From: *The Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*/Belgians/Cornelius J. Jaenen

Belgians in Canada have experienced relatively rapid integration into mainstream society. In southwestern Ontario, Flemings were subsumed into the anglophone host society. In western Canada, on the other hand, although most Flemings identified with the anglophone majority, on occasion they joined the Walloons in associating with the francophone minorities. The Walloon interpenetration with francophone minorities outside Quebec enabled them to establish a degree of coexistence with the anglophone community. Walloons in western Canada often adopted French-Canadian nationalist views regarding language rights and separate schools. In Quebec the experience seems to have been different again, since both Walloons and Flemings merged into the dominant francophone community.

In all regions their integration proceeded more on an individual basis than as a group experience. They did not create their own ethnocultural subsystem on either a regional or a national scale. Roman Catholicism is one of the major distinguishing characteristics of the group, yet there is only one Flemish parish, Sacred Heart in Saint-Boniface, and no Walloon parish in all of Canada. This anomaly may be explained by the fact that, unlike a number of other ethnic groups, Belgians never settled in enclaves, although there were concentrations of settlement in southwestern Ontario, southern Manitoba, and around Fort Garry–Saint-Boniface. So-called Belgian Towns in Saint-Boniface, Glace Bay, or Estevan were not ghettos or self-sufficient ethnocultural enclaves but residential concentrations. The Belgian component in rural colonization projects such as Namur in Quebec and Bellegarde in Saskatchewan was important, but other groups were always present, and there was no attempt to exclude them. The clubs in Montreal, Saint-Boniface, Delhi, and Sabrevois have increasingly served a heterogeneous community. Belgians, therefore, were never an isolated or segregated community in Canada.

This association with other ethnocultural groups may explain the departure from endogamy that characterized the first generation of immigrants. Local histories and church registers indicate that, in the second generation, marriages extended beyond ethnic boundaries into the wider Roman Catholic community. In subsequent generations, even the religious boundary is crossed as young people increasingly choose their mates from associates at school, the workplace, or recreational activities. The given names of children, once limited to the traditional familial and religious repertoire, increasingly reflect both North American inventiveness and conformity with the larger society. The community's concentric worlds appear to expand with each succeeding generation.

The openness to other groups has had additional consequences. Flemings have had a low language-retention rate. Outside Quebec they quickly adopted English because of its implications for economic advancement and social acceptance, just as in Quebec in recent decades they have readily integrated into the francophone majority. The first generation of immigrants maintained active drama clubs, literary societies, and social gatherings, but these soon gave way to mainstream cultural and social activities. In the early years of settlement, Flemings in Ontario and Manitoba asked for the services of priests speaking their tongue, but the hierarchy was only infrequently able to meet their requests. There is evidence to suggest that parents in southwestern Ontario passed on the Flemish language to their children, although the children never learned to read and write it. One survey in the tobacco belt indicated that children seldom spoke Flemish with their parents and almost never with their peers, but they retained a sufficient knowledge to communicate with their grandparents. Vlamingen in de Wereld, which is dedicated to bringing about a worldwide Flemish cultural renaissance, has been active in the tobacco belt, promoting the use of standard Dutch at home and in social and cultural events. The Walloons, most of whom settled among other francophones, maintained French at home and in religious, cultural, and

social activities generally. The Walloon dialects were hardly ever taken up by the youth, just as until quite recently they were on the point of disappearing in Belgium itself.

The bitter language debates between Flemings and Walloons that raged in Belgium were seldom taken up in Canada. Walloons in Manitoba did have some reason to believe that Flemings were insensitive to their demands for provincial services in French and the restoration of official bilingualism, but there was never open confrontation between the two linguistic groups. Any difference in views can be attributed largely to Flemish blending into the anglophone host society and Walloon identification in most places with the French-Canadian community, rather than to a perpetuation of the language battles of the home country. In the 1920s the Walloons shared with other francophones on the prairies the abuse of such anti-French and anti-Catholic organizations as the Ku Klux Klan, the Orange lodges, and the reactionary wing of the Conservative Party. Politically, the Flemings and Walloons have supported the same political party – either the Conservatives or the Liberals and rarely a third party – and have voted for each other's candidates in municipal, provincial, and federal elections.

Belgians have contributed much to an emerging Canadian identity. They consistently upheld the work ethic, community values, and loyalty to the Crown. In numerous communities they reinforced Roman Catholic values and traditions, and they are one of the few immigrant groups who have actively promoted the development of francophone institutions in Canada. Belgian miners, dairymen, market gardeners, tobacco growers, and grain growers joined non-ethnic associations. Traditional recreational activities, such as pole archery, pigeon racing, bicycle racing, and Belgian bowling, were never restricted to their own community. Belgian investments in nascent Canadian industries have greatly stimulated development and created jobs. In mining, members of the community have actively supported unionization and the labour movement. In agriculture they have been pioneers in dairying, beet growing, tobacco culture, and market gardening.

Everywhere Belgians have made important contributions to intellectual life, education, religion, and arts and letters. In Quebec their role in the domains of university research, biotechnology, aeronautics, and computer science has been most significant. The Quebec episcopacy looked to Belgium for religious orders to promote new educational and cultural initiatives and for solutions to the challenges arising out of modernization. Belgians have been active participants in Catholic services to other immigrant communities, such as the Ukrainians, Poles, and Hungarians, and in missionary work among the Metis and native peoples.

It is significant that Belgians did not feel the need to build a network of institutions to maintain their identity in Canada. They apparently perceive no inherent contradiction between devotion to Canada and respect for one's roots. A crowd still gathers for the Independence Day parade through the streets of Montreal each 21 July, as it does for the May Day procession led by the banner of Our Lady of Flanders each year in Windsor, Ontario. In Manitoba, the pole archery tournaments at Sainte-Amélie and the pigeon races at Saint-Boniface have become increasingly popular. In Ontario the Langton fair and the tobacco harvest festivities in Delhi still attract enthusiastic crowds. These are some of the occasions on which Belgians still display their community solidarity.

The acceptance of Belgians by both mainstream communities in Canada derives from the fact that they were initially perceived as "preferred immigrants," their heroic image as resisters of foreign invasion and occupation in 1914–18 and again in 1940–45, their rapid integration into the dominant society, their success generally as settlers, and their outstanding contributions in fields ranging from music and pedagogy to agriculture and engineering. Whatever judgment may be passed on Canadian immigration policies that categorized peoples as "preferred" and "non-preferred," as long as such classifications were in use Belgians fell into the "preferred" category.

# Further Reading

From: *The Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*/Belgians/Cornelius J. Jaenen

Background information on Belgium is available in a number of studies including Koen Mattijs and Michel Draguet, **The Belgians** (Tielt, Belgium, 1992); Kenneth D. McRae, **Conflict and Compromise in Multilingual Societies: Belgium** (Waterloo, Ont., 1986); Els Witte, **La Flandre: des origines à nos jours** (Brussels, 1983); and Els Witte and Jan Craeybeckx, **La Belgique politique de 1930 à nos jours: les tensions d'une démocratie bourgeoise** (Brussels, 1987).

Emigration from Belgium is the subject of the work by Ginette Kurgan and E. Spelkens, **Two Studies on Emigration Through Antwerp to the New World** (Brussels, 1976); Jean Puissant, "Quelques témoignages sur l'émigration hennuyère, 1884–1889," *Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, Bulletin des séances*, vol.3 (1973), 443–63; Jean Stengers, **Émigration et immigration en Belgique au XIXe et au XXe siècles** (Brussels, 1978); and Jean Everaert, "L'Émigration en masse," and Eddy Stols, "L'Émigration des cerveaux," in **La Belgique: sociétés et cultures depuis 150 ans** (Brussels, 1980), 248–52.

At present the only national overview for Belgians in Canada is Cornelius J. Jaenen, **The Belgians in Canada**, Canada's Ethnic Group Series, no.20 (Ottawa, 1991). A useful collection of comparative studies is G. Kurganvan Hentenryk, ed., **La Question sociale en Belgique et au Canada** (Brussels, 1988). Regional studies of Belgian settlement in Canada are Joan Magee, **The Belgians in Ontario: A History** (Toronto, 1987), and Keith Wilson and James B. Wyndels, **The Belgians in Manitoba** (Winnipeg, 1976).

The major archival source for Belgians in Canada is the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, located in Brussels, Belgium. Some of the key documents from this repository have been copied and are now in the National Ethnic Archives, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa. Information can also be found in various Roman Catholic diocesan and Canadian provincial archives, but there are no major collections.



# FLEMINGS IN GERMANY :

## DER FLAEMING

During the second half of the fifth century, as a result of the collapse of the Hunnic empire, the area between Elbe-Saale and the Oder rivers, corresponding roughly to the former East Germany, was depopulated, as the various Germanic tribes moved toward the Mediterranean world. In the course of the late fifth and seventh centuries the population vacuum was filled by the Slavic people. They assimilated the remnants of the Germanic population, and the entire territory by the seventh century was Slavic speaking. Consequently by the early tenth century the Germanic-Slavic frontier, in that part of the Europe, roughly followed the line of the Elbe and Saale rivers. Between the 10th and the twelfth centuries the Germans brought the Slavic territory, east of that line, as far as the Oder river, under varying degrees of control. Over the following centuries, these lands were germanized and now form an integral part of Germany. Only around the Bautzen and Cottbus in Lusatia some Slavic speakers survived, being known as Wends or as they call themselves "Serby" - the Sorbs. According to recent estimations they number less than 100,000 people. As a courtesy to them, one of the smallest nations of Europe, Appendix 1 lists the German and Slavic names of many places mentioned in following essay.

The aim of the following work is to investigate the process of Germanization of the lands between the Elbe-Saale and the Oder rivers. The research will concentrate mainly on the period between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries, and will take a two-way approach. That is, looking at the colonisation of the region by the Germanic speaking settlers and germanization of the local Slavic population. It will attempt to analyse and evaluate both these factors and their contribution to this complex ethno and socio-political process.

The names used to describe the Slavic inhabitants of these region is a confusing issue due to lack of commonly accepted terminology. Recently, it has become more common to call them Polabians or Polabs, instead of Wends. There are also some problems with their division. In the following work three large tribal groups are distinguished: Obodrites in north-west, Veleti in north-east and Sorbs in the south.

## HITORICAL BACKGROUND

The relationship between Germanic and Slavic people in the region went through number of phases between the sixth and twelfth centuries. Prior to Charlemagne's times, Germanic and Slavic tribes coexisted in balance and were not a significant threat to each other. Some conflicts must have occurred, but in a tribal world their implications were on the local scale. On some occasions they even formed alliances against common enemies. Such was the case of the Thuringian ruler Radulf who allied himself with the Slavs against the Franks in the middle of the seventh century.

Since Charlemagne, from the late eighth century, the Polabian Slavs were drawn more and more into Frankish and later German political orbit. More and more tribes, especially western Sorbs became vassals of German rulers. The dependent, local Sorbian chieftains as long as they payed tribute remained in charge of their people and local affairs. At that time there was no significant Germanic settlement in the

region. The presence and impact of some German merchants, craftsmen and slaves was negligible. Neither there were any real attempts to convert Slavs to Christianity.

In the tenth century, when the German medieval state reached its political peak, the Germans made significant advance into Polabian territory. This was a result of deliberate policies of the Saxon dynasty. As easterners and Saxons they had paid much more attention to the eastern affairs. During that period, German administration, civil and ecclesiastic, was established east of the Elbe and Saale rivers, practically for a first time. Still, the German colonisation in the region was on an insignificant scale. In Western Sorbian lands between Saale and Mulde, some Germans settled mainly in towns but they formed a fraction of the population. The Slavic revolt of 983 stopped German penetration in the north, among the Veleti and Obodrites, nor in the Sorbian lands had German colonisation made any significant progress.

The process of germanisation of the region did not really begin until the middle of the twelfth century. It took a different form and different pace depending on the area, tribal and social group involved. There were two elements involved in the germanization of newly acquired territories: colonisation by German settlers and germanization of the local Slavs. Let us discuss colonization first.

## COLONIZATION

The scale of Germanic colonisation of Polabian lands presents a real difficulty. Any estimation of population movements in Middle Ages is highly speculative. This leaves a large margin for interpretation of scarce data. Estimations, of that type, are also quite often affected by the factors of political and nationalistic character, whether conscious or not.

Until the late eleventh century, although the Germans controlled most of the Sorbian territory, they were practically unable to colonise conquered lands, simply due to low population. And in Saxony and Thuringia there had always been much lower population than in the western lands, not significantly higher than across the Elbe-Saale. In the north, that is in the Obodrite and Veleti lands, Germanic political control was not fully established before the middle of the twelfth century.

Between the eleventh and thirteenth century, Western Europe experienced a substantial growth of population. This was a general trend, which began sometime in the tenth century, reaching its peak during the twelfth. The population stabilized at the turn of fourteenth century, not long before the Black Death. To a large extent, this rapid population growth was a result of improved agricultural methods and the spread of new technologies in the Western Europe. A significant new development was a three-field rotation cultivation method that became more common. It increased the crops and allowed the introduction of new high protein leguminous plants. The spread of the wheeled plough with mould-board also increased a crop yield. At the same time, a new improved shoulder harness for draught and plough animals made animal work more effective and much faster. Soon some Western Germanic regions became overpopulated, and land usage was stretched to its medieval limits. As a result of population pressure many people were desperate for new arable lands and newly acquired territories became attractive for settlers. The German upper class was also attracted to the east. The medieval economy was practically entirely agriculture

based. Social status was measured in wealth, and for the medieval nobles only the large estates could provide substantial income. Many landless knights came to the east to serve in retinues of margraves or even the Slavic dukes in hope of becoming landlords.

The overpopulation in the Low Countries, that is modern Holland, was even greater than in Germany, and a large proportion of a new settlers came from this region. The Low Countries provided mainly peasant settlers, very efficient and sophisticated by medieval standards. In some areas, Germanic colonisation was on relatively a large scale, such as in the Wagrien region, a western Obodrite land, where after 1139 many settlers were brought in by Count Adolph of Holstein. In this region, many Saxons, mainly Holzatians, settled, together with numerous Hollanders and Frisians. The Westphalian peasants came to till the soil in the Ratzeburg district, and numerous Flemings colonised Holstein.

A similar large scale and organised colonisation took place in Brandenburgia, after Albrecht the Bear took full control of the region in 1157. He brought there a large number of Hollanders, Zeelanders and Flemish peasants. This migration is still reflected in the name Fläming, an area of Brandenburgia.

However, there is no evidence, for mass shift of population from west to the east, or at least it is not traceable anywhere else. An organised migration from Saxony, Westphalia and the Low Countries, involving a relatively large number of people, took place practically only on the two above mentioned occasions.

In the other areas, many new settlers were brought by local nobility and bishops, but it was rather on a smaller, village scale. For example, a Flemish village of eighteen families was founded in the Meisen diocese, by bishop Gerung in 1154. In the Magdeburg diocese, archbishop Wichman brought a number of Flemish settlers who founded a new village of Flemmingen, near Naumburg and Grosswusteritz, in the second half of the twelfth century. Similarly, a nobleman Wyprecht of Groitzsch, brought some Franconian farmers into his estates, located in Mersenburg diocese.

Bringing new settlers from afar had another important aspect, for German landlords and margraves. By granting the colonists better conditions, they tried to assure their loyalty. In many areas, new immigrants were granted some privileges and tax concessions in the initial phase of their settlement on the new land. Some areas had free tenure for a number of years, and overall feudal obligations were lower. In some areas Flemish settlers were also granted the right to exercise a lower justice, on the village level.

Overall, the German colonisation of the territory was peaceful, with exception of the Western Obodrite lands. Only there was a large proportion of Slavic population forcefully removed from the best land. Still, it appears that the Slavs formed a majority of population in the region in the second half of the twelfth century. Helmold of Bossau reported huge numbers of Slavs, in 1156, who gathered on market place at Lbbeck, to be baptised. In Brandenburgia and Sorbian territories eviction of the Slavic farmers probably took place on a much smaller scale. Many Slavs who were evicted from their land must have been resettled in newly established German estates. As a result, those displaced and uprooted people became much more prone to germanization. It comes as no surprise that Wagrien, Brandenburgia and Western Sorbian lands lost their Slavic identity much earlier than other regions.

However, in Mecklenburgia and Western Pomerania it was another story. Both were defeated by the Saxon duke Henry the Lion, but neither was conquered. As a result of 1166 agreement between the Saxon duke, the Obodrite prince Przybysław and the Pomeranian princes, both principalities became Saxon vassals. As a part of the deal, Przybysław's son, Boriwoj married Matilda, an illegitimate daughter of Henry the Lion. Soon both principalities became duchies of the Empire. So, the Slavic population there was treated as were other imperial subjects. There were no evictions there and local princes and nobility remained in charge of local affairs. Consequently, the slow stream of colonists from Saxony and Flanders settled peacefully on vacant land next to the Slavs. There were some attempts to calculate the number of people that moved from west to east. One such calculation, by German scholar Walter Kuhn, puts the number of German rural settlers in the twelfth century at 200,000. According to Bartlett:

"He ( Kuhn ) based this calculation on the number of mansi or peasant farms which can be demonstrated or reasonably assumed to have been created..".

It is beyond our judgement to challenge the computation, as I was unable to see its details or the data it was based on. However, this number could hardly be accepted as such. To begin with, the available documents are scarce, hence the outcome of such estimation is highly speculative. But above all, the assumption that all new settlements were populated by Germanic colonists is definitely very suspect (This issue will be addressed in a following paragraph). But let us accept Kuhn's findings, purely for the sake of the argument.

Limited space does not allow us to expand on Polabian agriculture and the emergence of their towns. However, there is solid archaeological data and many written sources confirm that all the Slavs including their Polabian branch were sedentary people and their main mode of subsistence was agriculture. From the turn of the seventh century a crop rotation in a two-field system, similar to one practised in the Western Europe, became widespread. Evidence of a relatively advanced agriculture among medieval Western Slavs comes from many historical accounts. Ibrahim ibn Jacub, a Jewish merchant, who travelled through Piast's principality (modern Poland) and northern Polabian lands in the middle of the tenth century, reported that the Slavs sowed twice a year. This is confirmed by archaeological data from Tornow, near Calau in Lower Lusatia, where rye and barley were sown in autumn and wheat and millet in the spring. Also, an English missionary from Wessex, Saint Boniface, who worked in central Germany in the eighth century, praised Baltic Slavs (most likely the Sorbs or Obodrites) for their highly developed agriculture, trade and crafts in comparison with the Eastern Germanic tribes of Saxons and Thuringians. By the seventh century agriculture among all the Western Slavs was dominated by ploughing. Burning wild vegetation and shifting the fields was probably practised only in marginal areas. Fields were ploughed by wooden ards and pulled by yoked oxen. Medieval Slavic ards were usually made of hard oak wood. Many ards were reinforced with iron tip or coulter, definitely from the eighth - ninth century. This is confirmed by the finds at Tornow, and at Platkow, near Lebus.

Animal husbandry was an important part of Slavic economy, second only to agriculture. The analysis of animal bones excavated from various early Slavic sites, including those in modern eastern Germany, revealed that between 90 and 100 percent of animal remains were of domesticated species, such as pigs, cattle, horses, goats, sheep, chicken and geese. Archaeological data from Wolin shows that pork

comprised over 60 percent and beef almost one third of all red meat consumed, while sheep and goat meat contributed to only around 5 percent of the diet. It can be safely assumed that for the rest of the Polabian Slavs meat consumption was close to that of Wolin.

Prior to their subjugation by the Empire, many Polabian settlements grew into administrative, manufacturing and trade centres. The strongholds like L $\ddot{u}$ beck, Schwerin, Ratzeburg, Demmin, Radogost, Ralswiek on R $\ddot{u}$ gen, Brandenburg, Havelsberg, K $\ddot{u}$ pennick (today a suburb of Berlin), Gana, Bautzen, and Liuba developed into early mediaeval towns, as a result of local socio-political developments and extensive contacts of various nature with the Empire. Still, they were not of great size by modern standards. Based on the archaeological data, their average estimated size was somewhere between 2,000 and 3,000 inhabitants. That is smaller than average towns in the Empire, but not significantly. Two towns, on the Veletian-Pomeranian border, Szczecin (German Stettin) and Wolin, were exceptions as they were relatively large, and both were involved in lucrative Baltic trade. They also developed a peculiar form of government, a "merchant republic", in a similar way to Novgorod in Russia. They were run by wealthy merchants and other prominent citizens of the town. The memories of Wolin's greatness, sometimes exaggerated, were recorded by Adam of Bremen:

"Jumne (Wolin), a most noble city, affords a very widely known trading centre for the barbarians and Greeks who lived round about... It is truly the largest of all the cities of Europe, and there live in it Slavs and many other peoples... Rich in the wares of all the northern nations, that city lacks nothing that is either pleasing or rare".

With the exception of Wolin and Szczecin, and possibly the Obodrite L $\ddot{u}$ beck, the Polabian centres were smaller and less numerous than in Western Europe. However, the difference between them and eastern German towns in Saxony and Thuringia, was not really great. One more issue still has to be addressed. That is an alleged Norsemen foundation and domination of Wolin. The entire claim is based on the J $\ddot{u}$ msviking Saga of the twelfth or thirteenth century, a rather unreliable historical source. Neither, any other German written source, or archaeological data supports this fantastic claim. Wolin developed into a commercial centre during the ninth century, and declined in the twelfth as a result of Danish raids. Both written records and archaeology clearly show its predominantly Slavic character in all aspects of life. Of course, some Danish and other foreign merchants, craftsmen and mercenaries lived there, but this is in no way surprising.

Also, it seems reasonable to assume that agricultural changes in the Western Europe had a profound effect east of the Elbe and Saale between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. Taking into consideration close contacts with the Germanic people, it would be hard to imagine otherwise. This in turn would facilitate some population growth. This claim is supported by the analysis of land usage among the Polabian Slavs, conducted by German scholar Joachim Herrmann. The finding shows that there was a 25 percent increase in land cultivation and expansion of agriculture in the areas with heavier soils during the eleventh and twelfth century. That is prior to any significant Germanic migration into the region. Hence, this suggests that there was a substantial population growth in that period in the area east of Elbe and Saale rivers. Even if the entire population growth had been neutralised by losses during the numerous wars, which is unlikely in any case, the Polabian population would remain at the tenth century level.

The above evidence shows clearly that the Polabian Slavs were not hunter-gatherers in the sparsely populated wilderness, and that such an idea was devised and perpetuated for German political and chauvinistic purposes. Unfortunately, it is still a common assumption, due to inability or unwillingness to access other sources, and still "rattles" in many English language publications. To be sure, the Polabian lands were less advanced than Germanic speaking regions of Europe, but a mode of subsistence was similar to that of the West, and the technological gap was not of great magnitude. In this context the population density east of the Elbe and Saale was not substantially lower than in the Empire. And the difference was even smaller in comparison with eastern provinces of the Empire such as Saxony and Thuringia. In the context of the above evidence, even accepting Kuhn's doubtful estimations, his data shows that the Germanic speaking settlers, would still form a minority. As the area we are concerned with covers around 120,000 square kilometres and the population density there was almost certainly not lower than 5-6 people per square kilometre. So, with non-conclusive evidence, for a large scale colonisation, a mass Germanic migration can not be whole heartily accepted. The colonisation of Polabian lands, by German speaking people, appears to have been rather a hardly traceable, constant stream of new settlers, mainly over two centuries, beginning in the middle of the twelfth century. It also indicates that, contrary to what we are often told, the Germanic speaking migrants formed a minority of the population of the region. The eastward movement of Germanic people slowed down and practically ceased in the middle of the fourteenth century. The turning point was the first major outbreak of the Black Death in 1347. The impact of Black Death on all European population was enormous. According to some estimates Europe lost between 33 and 50 percent of its population. The mortality rate in western Germany was lower than in the Mediterranean, but still is estimated to have been between 25 and 30 percent. The former Polabian lands, with the exception of the Baltic coast and its towns, which suffered as badly as the rest of western Germany, were affected much less. It has been estimated that those region lost only somewhere between 20 and 30 percent, while the Bohemia fared even better with between 10 and 15 percent loss. Consecutive outbreaks of epidemics in Western Europe, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, caused such depopulation, that arable land was easily available. Still, more important were the changes in tenurial obligations. Labour and other services to landlord began to be replaced by rent in most of Western Europe, including Western Germany. With a shortage of labour, peasants could easily renew the tenure of land for much lower rent than in the pre-plague period. Hence, taking into consideration the conditions in East and West, since the middle of the fourteenth century, emigration patterns could reverse, attracting the people from eastern provinces to migrate west.

## GERMANIZATION

Far more important than colonisation, was a germanization of the Polabian Slavs, who, as the Empire's subjects lost their language and ethnic identity during the centuries of German domination. When the Polabian Slavs found themselves under German rule, they soon realised that the old days would never return and their situation could only be improved if they joined mainstream German life. There is no doubt that this was the most important factor which contributed to the loss of their ethnic identity in almost the entire region. Contrary to widely held opinion, the

Germans did not mass exterminate indigenous Slavic population. Neither did the Slavs leave their land and migrate elsewhere. It is true that some areas were depopulated and impoverished by centuries of war, but certainly there were no deserted wastelands. The civilian Slavic population suffered mostly during the conquest and numerous rebellions. The Germans were ruthless during the war but so were the others. Such was the medieval way of waging war. Certainly after the conquest christianisation of the Polabian Slavs claimed numerous victims among the civilians. Imposition of the new religion involved destruction of pagan idols and places of worship, and it was definitely met with some resistance. No doubt, in the course of conversion, the pagan priests and defenders of old beliefs were most likely not spared.

It appears, then, that the fallacy of total extermination served its purpose as a propaganda tool for the champions of racial purity and some chauvinists, especially during the Nazi times. It also backfired because it was sometimes used by German neighbours to portray all the Germans as Slav-eaters and cruel beasts. Many claims of almost total annihilation of Polabian Slavs were based on the Helmold of Bossau chronicle, which on a number of occasions, stated that the Slavs were totally wiped out in some areas. However, Helmold contradicted himself almost as many times, when in later passages he mentioned numerous Slavic inhabitants of the same areas, still living there. We will return to more evidence for Slavic presence in eastern parts of Empire later.

In this context, we may postulate that there was no extermination of Slavic inhabitants in the region. After all, ethnicity was not a main issue and the German landlords desperately needed people to work on their new estates. Labour was a much sought commodity. For the German nobility and Empire, it would be against their own interests to wipe out the Slavic population of the region. Subdue and bind them to the land: yes, but definitely not to exterminate. Numerous documents indicate that lands beyond Elbe and Saale were of great economic importance for the Ottonian Empire as a source of large revenues from the first half of the tenth century. The conquered Slavs were obliged to pay a tithe equal to a tenth of their produce. It was usually extracted in honey, furs, slaves, garments, grain, and pigs, but sometimes in silver and sales tax, or in a form of a labour. There are many examples supporting this claim. Just to cite a few: According to Thietmar, a Sorbian tribe of Milchan were obliged to supply labour and "decimae" for building the Meissen stronghold. St. Maurice monastery at Magdeburg received a tenth from the entire region of Lusatia, and this was extended to the other lands with their conquest. In the north, a substantial episcopal tithe was paid to the bishopric of Oldenburg, by at least the Western Obodrites, from the middle of the tenth century. At the same time, the loyal landlords in the region as well as some based in Saxony and Thuringia, extracted substantial revenues for their own coffers. All this clearly indicates that the Slavic population was well incorporated into the political and economic system of the Empire.



# Flaming : Description

Länder: Brandenburg, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt

## Situation and topography

The Fläming Hills (named after Flemish settlers who came here in the 12th C.) are the middle section of the ridge of hills which extends for over 100km/60mi, ranging in width between 30km/20mi and 50km/30mi, from the Altmark in the northwest to the Lusatian Hills in the southeast. It is bounded on the north by the Baruth urstromtal (ice-margin trench), on the west and south by the valleys of the Elbe and Schwarze Elster, on the east by the Dahme valley.

The western part of the Fläming range, the Hoher Fläming, reaches a height of 201m/659ft in the Hagelberg; the highest point in the eastern part, the Niederer Fläming, is the Golmberg (178 m/584ft).

# ORIGINS OF BERLIN

There is no known date of foundation of Berlin.

In its early history, there existed a twin-town situation - Berlin lay on the East bank of the Spree and Cölln lay on the west bank. These towns are first mentioned in historical documents in the 1200s, and there is no evidence of the Slav fishing village that is often mentioned in some sources ( By virtue of the destruction wrought in the Second World War, archaeological research in these areas has been fairly extensive ).

This is in contrast to both Spandau and Köpenick, which were important towns during the Slav period. Additionally both these towns have documents to prove when they were first founded as towns in the German Mark Brandenburg - Spandau in 1232. There are no documents of this type for either Berlin or Cölln, and no documents relating to the founding of the towns. The oldest historical reference to Berlin is in a document of 1244, whereas Cölln was first mentioned in 1237.

The favorite theory about the name of Berlin is that it is of Slavic origin, possibly relating to marshy, damp land. Another possibility you might find mentioned is of a Flemish origin, brought by Flemish settlers of that time.

# FLEMINGS IN POLAND

Numerous West Slavic tribes had inhabited most of the area of present-day Poland since the 6th century. Mieszko I of the Polans from his stronghold in the Gniezno area subdued various neighboring tribes in the second half of the 10th century, creating the first Polish state and becoming the first historically recorded Piast duke. His realm roughly included all of the area of the "Recovered Territories" except for Warmia-Masuria. His son and successor, Bolesław I, expanded the southern part of the realm, but lost control over Pomerania. After fragmentation, pagan revolts and a Bohemian invasion in the 1030s, Casimir I the Restorer again united most of the former Piast realm, including Silesia and the Lubusz Land, but without Pomerania. Pomerania was subdued again temporarily by Bolesław III in 1116-1121. On his death in 1138, Poland was divided into several semi-independent duchies, ruled by Bolesław's sons and later their successors, who were often in conflict with each other. Partial reunification was achieved by Władysław I, crowned king of Poland in 1320, although the Silesian and Masovian duchies remained independent.

In the course of the 12th to 14th centuries, large numbers of German, Dutch and Flemish settlers moved into East Central and Eastern Europe (a process known as the Ostsiedlung). In Pomerania, Brandenburg, East Prussia and Silesia, the former West Slav (Polabian Slavs and Poles) or Balt population became extinguished or dissimilated except for small minorities. In Poland and Pomerelia (West Prussia) however, German settlers formed a minority.





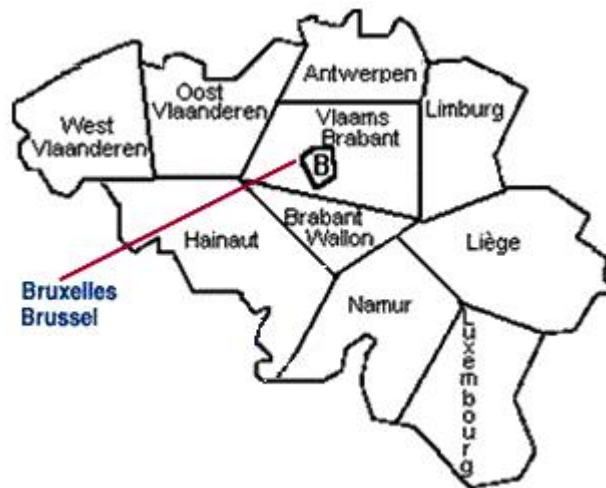
# - BELGIANS IN MANITOBA -


To understand what "pulled" and "pushed" many Belgians to emigrate to North America and elsewhere in the 19th and early 20th centuries, it is best to begin by looking at what happened during the time period they left Belgium.

---

## **Circumstances which stimulated Belgian emigration\***

The small country of Belgium (30.500 km<sup>2</sup>) experienced a profound economic and social transformation over a short period of time which offers a partial explanation for the emigration of several hundred of thousand inhabitants during the first century following Independence from the Netherlands in 1830. Here are its provinces:



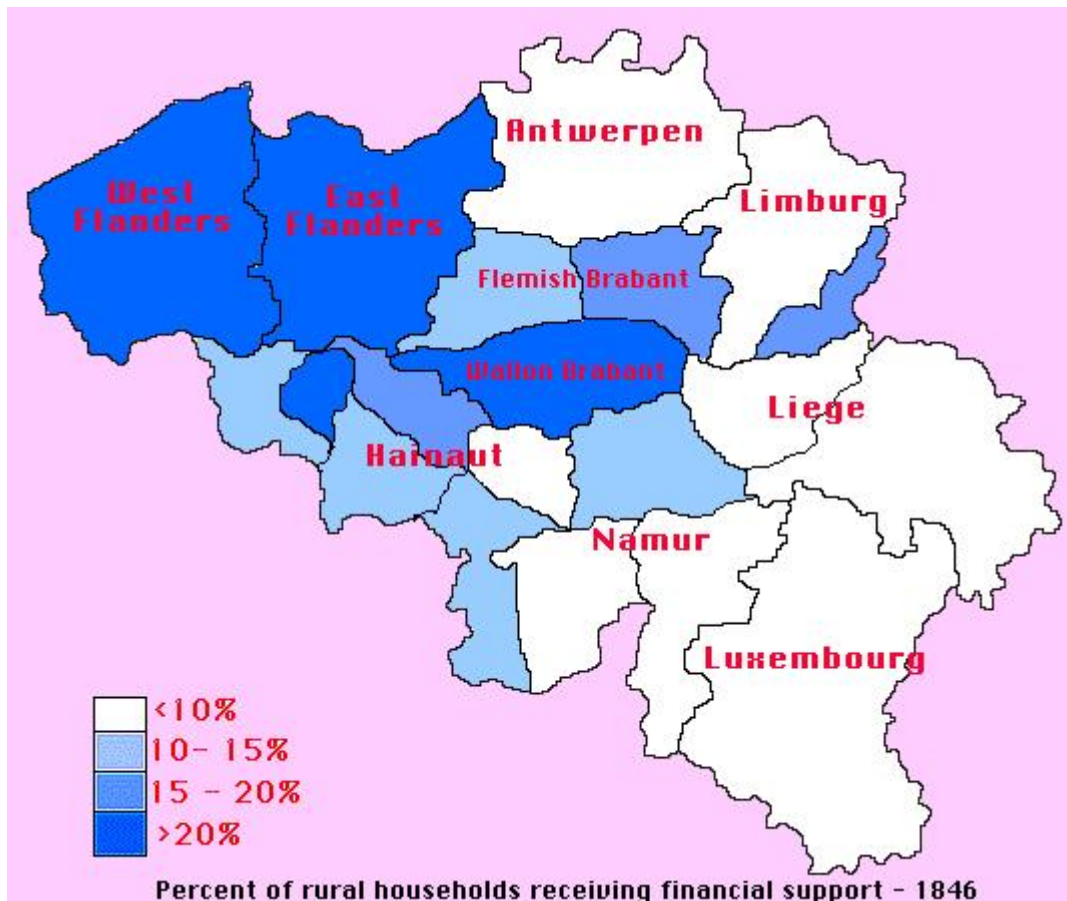
In contrast to what was happening in the neighbouring countries, the small unproductive Belgian farms, which averaged half the size of those in France and five times smaller than in Great Britain, continued to set the pace. Almost three-quarters of the farmers worked less than one hectare of land and in the province of Luxembourg one third of the agricultural land lay fallow. 

During the 1850's, when cattle was used as draught animals and manure producers - the production of milk was low and not very lucrative - so barely one eighth of the farmland could be fertilised with manure. This was cyclic: The production of milk was low because the cows didn't have enough food and the food for the cows was inadequate because there was not enough manure to "feed" the land.

As a result of the continuing division of the farms among a rising number of farmers' children, the parcels of land became smaller, the diversity in crops greater and farming conditions more difficult. Most members of large families no longer found employment on the farm. A considerable labour surplus became apparent which activated a migration of the rural population to other economic sectors.

This was topped with a failure of the rye crop in the 1850's and widespread famine followed. Social and private assistance could do little to change the dramatic situation. Groups of starving people left the countryside and sought solace in the cities. The plundering of a bakery in Bruges on 2nd March 1847 signaled the beginning of the hunger riots. 🚩

In 1848, 35% of the population in West Flanders depended on public welfare. The exhausted people became an easy prey for the rapidly spreading typhoid epidemics in 1847-1848 and, the most devastating, in 1866. Between 1830 and 1844 some thirty thousand Belgians left for France, The Netherlands or Germany. About one in ten left Europe for the Americas.



Research has shows that the "potato sickness" caused a great deal of damage as early as 1843 in the United States of America and in 1844 in Lower and Upper Canada. From Nova Scotia, which was the worst hit, the disease spread far into the West. This potato blight was carried to Europe where it caused starvation on the Continent and, best known, in Ireland. 🚩

### ***The Industrial Development***

Belgium very soon followed in Great Britain's footsteps towards industrial development. The activity was strongly concentrated in the ore industries and mining in Wallonia, mainly in the valleys of the Sambre and Meuse, the wool industry in Verviers and the cotton and linen mills in Ghent. The capital Brussels acted as administrative and commercial centre. Antwerp became the most important European port during the last quarter of the nineteenth century,

mainly thanks to the rapid increase of grain imports from America and Russia.

Although the Belgian farming area (crop and pasture) increased slightly up to the First World War. But this was mostly marginal land and industry gradually pushed agriculture aside as the most important activity between 1856 and 1870. The technical progress and the important expansion of the access roads were responsible for a concentration and localisation of the agricultural industry in the vicinity of the large cities, instead of being spread across the countryside where it belonged.

The social problems which accompanied this economic upheaval were legion. In 1830 the majority of the Belgian working population was employed in agriculture,. However, by 1880 only 32% remained and by 1910 this figure had dropped to 24.6%. 🚩

### ***Home Industry***

The family-run small land holdings received a ridiculously low income from farming. At home they tried to earn extra by processing local raw materials such as flax, rape, tobacco or hops. Cottage industries such as knitting, gloves, the making of clogs or baskets, rope twining or lace making - introduced as early as 1837 to replace flax working - provided a meagre extra income which was often partially paid in kind, i.e., not in cash.

During the last half of 1800's the cottage industries declined as a result of the technical progress and the arrival of machines, which brought about specialisation and replaced home labour by factory work. Nevertheless here still remained some 120,000 active home workers in 1896. Of this group which represented approximately 17% of the working population the lace workers were the more numerous group with 47.500. They worked about sixteen hours per day for a meagre 1 or 1.20 Fr. 🚩

### ***The flax crisis***


In 1840 over 350,000 people were employed as weavers or spinners in the flax industry in the provinces of East and West Flanders. The majority lived in the countryside and combined this activity along with agriculture. A number of factors were responsible for the slow death of the home linen (flax) industry during the second half of the nineteenth century. Some of these were the arrival of American cotton which replaced flax as a raw material, the mechanisation of the industry and the springing up of small industrial companies, the heavy import duties which were imposed abroad, especially in France, the importation of cheap flax from Russia and the export of the Belgian-produced quality flax for manufacturing elsewhere. By 1900 only 10,185 home weavers were still active in Belgium, of which 84% in West Flanders. 🚩

### ***Seasonal labour***

Seasonal emigration became necessary as the farming families were forced to find a substitute for the income lost when home industry fell away. During the quiet periods on their farms people left home for a few weeks or months to work



in foreign lands, usually France and less commonly to Germany and the Netherlands. Within Belgium a massive Flemish emigration to the Walloon mines occurred.

Although the Flemish went wherever work was to be found, France obviously was the favourite destination. There were vast fertile areas that were sparsely populated. The need for additional labour forces was therefore great especially as a result of a major expansion of the labour intensive beet crop. In contrast to the general opinion that seasonal labour was one of the worst paid occupations, the average wage for this type of work was three times higher in France than in Belgium and the expansion of the railway network providing cheap transportation for seasonal workers. Those who went to France were called "**Fransmans**".

Temporary emigration as a way of life was at its highest during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and became a steady movement which caused large sections of the Flemish population to move during a few months of each year. Most worked as farm labourers between mid-May and mid-November. They worked the "little beet" in the Spring, next they mowed the hay and clover. Halfway through July they helped with the grain harvest, finishing towards the end of September with the "large beet", the harvest of the sugar beets. A small group was specialised in the harvest of flax. Others worked in the sugar factories, chicory drying or picking hops. In 1900 the total number of seasonal labourers was estimated as being one third of all farm workers in West Flanders, reaching 42% in East Flanders!

In the period before the First World War seasonal labour was not limited to workers from Flanders. In the area around Ath in the province of Hainaut some 5,000 people left for foreign parts, usually France. In the Ardennes the woodcutters - several hundreds of them - from the area of Neufchateau working the forests throughout the winter and often travelling deep into France in summer.

As a result of increasing mechanisation the demand for all-round workers dropped after the Second World War. The introduction of combine harvester made seasonal labour superfluous. The beet 'seasons' in the spring and fall continued until 1960 but with the arrival of the mechanical single beet seed planter the demand for labourers for the "little beet" disappeared.


\*Adapted from "Belgian Emigration to Canada"  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brussels

## THE BELGIANS OF SOUTH-CENTRAL MANITOBA

\*

Based mainly on the text by **Marcel Haegeman** , Swan Lake - 1994

The first group of Belgians who immigrated to Manitoba arrived at St. Alphonse, Manitoba in the spring of 1888 to take up homesteads. Individual immigrants had arrived earlier, but it is believed these were the first to come as a group.

There is speculation as to who was responsible for their coming. The Catholic Church had sent agents to France, Belgium and Switzerland to encourage French-speaking Catholics to settle in Manitoba. At the same time, agents from the Canadian government were touring the agricultural areas of Europe looking for prospective immigrants, and trying to settle them in areas of Manitoba that were similar to where they lived in Europe. It would seem that both parties were equally successful, for the church had their French-speaking Catholics. and the district around St. Alphonse was almost identical to the Ardennes region of southern Belgium, from whence most of the newcomers had emigrated. Even the few Flemings that came from a district in the west-central part of Belgium known as the "Flemish Ardennes". felt at home because the rolling wooded countryside there was similar to that to which they had come in Manitoba. Both the church and the government wanted agricultural settlers, and had decided that this area in Manitoba would be suitable for the mixed farming to which the Belgians were accustomed. 

The French-Canadians who were already homesteading in St. Alphonse in 1883 welcomed the newcomers with whom they shared a language and religion, as even the newcomers with a Flemish background spoke French. [Others such as Emile Lebrun and his son Eugene came from the French-speaking part of Belgium. Emile wrote a letter about his experiences as a settler.]<sup>1</sup> The French-Canadians opened up their homes to the settlers, and gave them temporary lodging until they got settled in their own homes. [Some Belgian immigrants were unhappy with the winter weather and other things not to their liking and would have gone back but they did not have the money for the fare back to Belgium.<sup>3</sup> A related story is that of Isador Van De Spiegle who farmed a few years near Bruxelles and then moved to St. Boniface where he had an industrial accident in a mill. On recovery he was offered another job or a lump sum as compensation. He accept the money and moved with his family back to Belgium in December 1930. His oldest daughter Leona return to Belgium with the family but was unhappy there and at the age of 57 years in 1971 returned for a visit. Because she had been schooled in English she was popular in Belgium but was never happy there. When she died in January 2000 in Belgium a Canadian flag was flown at her funeral. <sup>4</sup> ]

Although building materials were available in the villages of Cypress River, Holland and Swan Lake, the newcomers built their first homes of logs mostly for economic reasons, but also because of their availability. A French-Canadian family owned a saw mill, and poplar logs could be brought there to be sawn into lumber for cabin roofs. The one advantage poplar lumber had was that it could be used immediately after sawing, as it did not shrink while drying. The settlers were advised to use it as soon as possible, for the French-Canadians said "so that when it warp it warp straight". Within a few years a Belgian family also owned a sawmill, so eventually more lumber than logs was being used for building.

Shortly after building a residence, the married Belgians who came alone would send for their families, although in some cases it would be several years before the families could come to Canada. One of the requirements for obtaining a homestead was that a residence had to be built, [so after building their **log house**, such as that of Augustin Godard shown here,]<sup>1</sup> many left to look for employment elsewhere to earn money to send to their families, or to buy whatever was needed to begin farming, as very few of them had sufficient funds to start. Many of them found employment on the railways. The C.P.R. was being extended west of Cypress River, and to the southeast the Pacific Northern Railway (later to be known as the C.N.R.) was laying a line which would pass through Somerset, Swan Lake and Mariapolis in 1889/90.

[The **log house** shown may seem primitive but the Henry Swennen 's father who came to Canada with him in 1951 had lived up until the 1920's in a **thatched hut made of clay reinforced with branches**. Its floor was packed dirt and the animals: a horse, cow, pig and chickens shared the same hut with the farmer and his family! So a larger **log house** such as shown here, even if the barn was attached, on one's own homestead must have seemed like Heaven to those that came from Limburg and Brabant, and possibly other places in Belgium in the early 1890's.]

Many of the settlers would go away to find work elsewhere in summertime, and return to their homesteads in the winter to start clearing land for breaking. The tool they used was a **grub-hoe**, also called a mattock &mdash; a tool with a sharp blade on one side to cut roots, and on the other a curved hoe-type blade to clear the dirt away from the roots. With the coming of the railways there was also a market for cordwood. This was a source of revenue in the wintertime and only wood cut in the winter could be sold. Many thousands of cords of wood were hauled to the railway stations at Holland, Swan Lake and Mariapolis, where the wood was piled on flatcars and shipped to Winnipeg.🚩

In order to haul the wood to the railways the settlers needed horses or **oxen**. Of these the oxen were the most popular as they could "live off the land", whereas horses needed oats which were not always available. Also, when an ox became too old to work it could be butchered, and the meat used for food. It was said that ox meat was so tough you could sit down to dinner hungry and get up tired! Oxen were slow and had a working speed of only two miles an hour, however it was said that when they were frightened, or when the flies were bad, they were capable of speeds that would make a horse blush! Many of the farmers used oxen to break the new land. They were slow but strong and generally patient. These animals felt the heat very much and would try to get into the water of a nice comfortable slough if at all possible. They had a joke about the oxen in the early days. One man had 3 animals and he called them by name as a Presbyterian, a Baptist and a Methodist. "Why did you use these names?" he was asked. "Well," he answered, "the big ox was bad for bawling at nights, so he was called a Methodist, the red one would always lay down in the water so we called him a Baptist, and the other, the roan, we called him a Presbyterian because we could not make him work on Sundays.

As more land was cleared and oats grown the homesteaders would buy horses. At first it would be only one or two to use for transportation, while oxen would still be used for field work as they were cheaper to buy and more economical to work with. It was many years before horses finally replaced oxen.

As more Belgian immigrants arrived all available homesteads were being taken up, and the district north of St. Alphonse, which was known as St. Alphonse North, became the Bruxelles district, with its own village, named after the capital of Belgium from whence had come the first parish priest and one of the early settlers.🚩

While the lure of free land <sup>5</sup> was responsible for the Belgians coming to Manitoba &mdash; 160 acres for the registration fee of \$10.00 &mdash; not all land was free. Of the 36 sections in a Township, the odd-numbered sections 1 to 35, with the exception of sections 11 and 27, were given by the Federal Government to the C.P.R. to compensate for the cost of building railways in western Canada. Sections 11 and 27 were school sections, to be sold by public auction and the monies raised used to build schools. Even-numbered sections 2 to 36, with the exception of sections 8 and 26, were homestead lands. Sections 8 and 26 were given to the Hudson's Bay Company as compensation for properties surrendered to the government, so of the 144 quarter sections in a Township, only 64 were available as government homesteads.

Belgian immigrants who came to Bruxelles and St. Alphonse after the government homesteads were taken up had to purchase land from companies, or from the government when school lands were sold by auction. Settlers with established homesteads could also buy company lands to increase their holdings. Shortly after the arrival of the Belgians, many French&mdash; Canadians, fed up with the difficulty of clearing land around St. Alphonse, moved out west to Saskatchewan or south to the North Dakota when land became available there. They had no difficulty selling their farms to newcomers who had not managed to obtain homesteads.🚩

In 1888 a young Belgian who was single, and had arrived with the first group, went to Swan Lake to look for work and to learn English. Although Swan Lake had been settled by English farmers from Ontario in 1878, there were still homesteads available. This young Belgian was encouraged by the English farmers that he worked for to take a homestead there rather than at St. Alphonse. He did so, and for several years was the only Belgian settler in the Swan Lake district. In the years to come other Belgians settled around Swan Lake by purchasing land from companies, the railway, or from English farmers who had reached retirement age and had no sons to take over.

Some of the English farmers from Ontario, whose fathers and grandfathers had settled there decades earlier, sent their sons to the cities to further their education. These sons did not return to the farms, and when the fathers could no longer farm they sold their land to the Belgians. Other English farmers who had sons, but not enough land, discovered they could sell their land to the Belgians for a good price and move elsewhere to purchase land where more was available, or take up new homesteads out west when they became available. Thus it is that today in the Swan Lake district, which was once ninety-nine per cent English, only a few English families remain.🚩

The Belgian children, on the other hand, when they reached the age of thirteen or fourteen had to leave their schooling to help out on the farms, regardless of how much or little education they had received. It would be several decades before many would receive high school education. The few who did go on to receive higher education in the early days did so to become teachers, or to enter religious life. However, when the Belgians first came they tried to learn English as soon as

possible. A French-Canadian Mother Superior from St. Alphonse Convent school once remarked that "concerning languages, one could learn from the Belgians that it is possible to learn two or more languages, as many of them already speak two languages and are now learning a third."

The heavily wooded areas around Bruxelles, St. Alphonse and Swan Lake were also a source of income for immigrants from Belgium who had come when homesteads were no longer available. They quickly found work grubbing for homesteaders, or for established farmers. Many had already spent several years doing backbreaking work in the sugarbeet fields in France before coming to Manitoba, so had no difficulty working in the bush day after day. Many had come with only enough money to buy a grub&mdash;hoe after paying for their passage. At first they would work for daily wages, but soon discovered they could make a great deal more money working by the acre, or a set amount of money for a specified portion of bush. The landowners supplied room and board. In summer grubbing began at 6 am. with a lunch-break at 9 a.m. and again at 4 p.m. Lunch consisted of two raw eggs and a few sandwiches. After the evening meal workers carried on until darkness forced them to stop. In the winter they grubbed until the snow became too deep, and the rest of the winter they worked for the farmer for room and board.🚩

In the summertime when the weather was hot the men would drink a great deal of water, and as a result many came down with a form of dysentery known as "summer complaint." An English doctor advised them to put oatmeal in their drinking water, a handful to a gallon. While the taste left something to be desired, it did quench their thirst, and was effective in preventing the sickness.

Because of their occupation these men became known as "grubbers". Sometimes the odd one would have difficulty collecting the money owed to him, but in most cases the owners were satisfied to pay the price agreed upon. One young grubber told of an experience when grubbing for a farmer north of Pilot Mound. He and the farmer had agreed on a price for grubbing a piece of bush. Seeing how far the grubber had progressed after a week, the farmer complained that he had been overcharged - that the grubber was making fantastic wages, whereupon the grubber said, "I'll make a deal with you. Come with me to the bush tomorrow morning to start grubbing, and if you can keep up to me for a whole day I will finish the rest of the bluff at no cost to you. If you cannot keep up just pay me what we agreed upon." Next morning the owner and the grubber went to the bush at 6 am., and for the first two hours the owner had actually done more than the grubber, but by 10 am. he started straightening himself upright and rubbing his back, and by 11 am. he was also looking up at the sky as well. By noon he was ready to call it quits, and never complained again.🚩

When working in abrasive soils, **grubhoe** blades would wear quickly, and would have to be taken to a blacksmith to be heated, hammered out, tempered and resharpened. Tempering was an art in itself, for if the blade was tempered too much it would be brittle and break; if not enough the metal would be soft and wear down quickly. The Scottish-born blacksmith at Swan Lake, who was known for the quality of his work, sharpened so many grub&mdash;hoes that he referred to them as "**Belgian flags**" - a name by which they are known to this day.

While many of the first Belgians left the district to take up homesteads further west or south when they became available, most of them were satisfied to remain in the district which they had already traveled a few thousand miles to reach. They now owned farms which they could never have owned in Belgium, and eventually, as conditions improved with better housing, roads, and availability of education, they never regretted coming to Manitoba. As the years went by more land was purchased by Belgians in the surrounding districts of South-Central Manitoba. Today most can trace their ancestry to the families who settled in St. Alphonse and Bruxelles over one hundred years ago.

Read more at : <http://home.cc.umanitoba.ca/~blanch/ManBelgHist/Manitoba/>



# THE COLONIZATION OF THE AZORES ISLANDS

## The Flemings

People from Flanders settled in the Azores beginning in 1450. These Flemish settlers played an important role in the creation of the Azorean culture. By 1490, there were 2,000 Flemings living in the islands of Terceira, Pico, Faial, Sao Jorge, and Flores. Because there was such a large Flemish settlement, the Azores became known as the Flemish Islands or the Isles of Flanders.

Henry was responsible for this settlement. His sister, Isabel, was married to Duke Philip of Burgundy of which Flanders was a part. There was a revolt against Philip's rule and disease and hunger became rampant. Isabel appealed to Henry to allow some of the unruly Flemings to settle in the Azores. He granted this and supplied them with the necessary transportation and goods.

First group of Flemings was led by Willem van de Hagen, later known by his Portuguese name of Guilherme da Silveira. They settled in Terceira, and the Flemish nobleman, Jacome de Bruges, was placed in charge. The next contingents went to the islands of Faial, Flores, Sao Jorge,<sup>55</sup> and Pico. Joos van Huerter founded the city of Horta on Faial<sup>57</sup> where evidence of the Flemish people and culture still exists today. Faial was in fact called the Flemish Island and the valley behind the city still has the name, the Valley of the Flemings or O Valle dos Flamengo.

But the Flemish language disappeared before long, and the Flemish settlers changed their names to Portuguese forms. For example, van der Hagen became Silveira, and Huerter became Dutra or Utra. Flemish physical traits of light hair, light complexion, and blue eyes can still be seen in the features of many Azoreans. Flemish oxcarts and windmills are still seen on the islands. The Flemish beghards and beguines (lay-religious group) brought the Festival of the Holy Spirit and their distinctive cloaks and hoods to the islands. There are many religious statuary, paintings, and furniture found in Azorean churches and museums which show the Flemish influence.

An interesting sidelight is the speculation that some Flemish people may have reached the North Carolina coast inadvertently during this migratory activity. In North Carolina, there was a group of people, calling themselves the Melungeons, who had light colored skin and identified themselves as Portuguese. These were not Native Americans. It is thought, that maybe one of the ships bound for the Azores, coming from Flanders, may have overshoot the islands and found its way to the Carolina coast, but evidence is lacking.



# A DIFFERENT STORY:

## France and Flemish-France

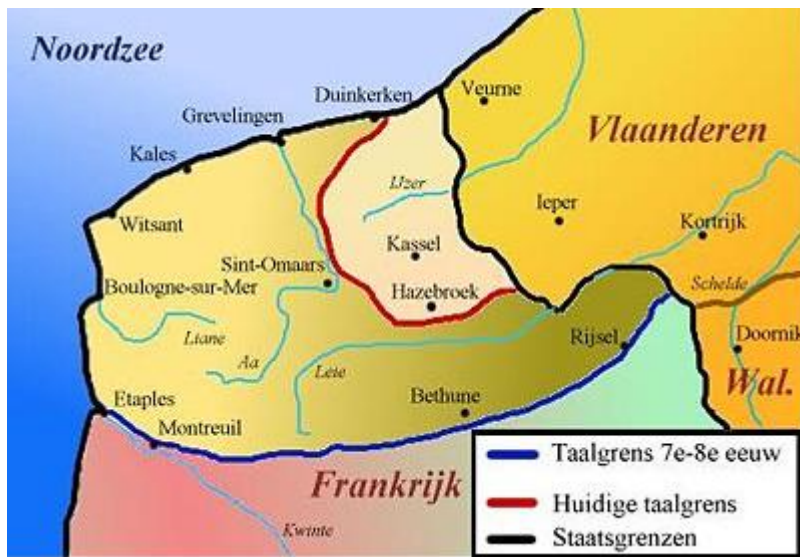
The Flemish Regional Alliance of France [reports](#) that from this year on the [Lille Academy](#), a cornerstone of the educational system in a region of northern France with a population of 4 million, will discontinue its training of Dutch language teachers. Instead and with what irony, the exotic language of the newly arrived immigrants, mainly of North African Arab descent, will be taught.

One and a half millennia ago, while the Saxons were engaged upon the great migration westward across the North Sea to post-Roman Britain, so the Flemish tribe advanced west along the Channel coast into Gallia, sweeping down upon the decaying Roman garrisons. Twelve centuries later some of the land they won was annexed by France. After the Revolution of 1789 the Flemish language had its official status removed in la Grande Nation. But no problem today, you would think. We are surely past such petty nationalisms in the modern Europe of nations, of which France is the spiritual leader. There is, don't forget, the [European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages](#) which explicitly seeks to promote and protect historical regional and minority languages *and excludes from protection* the languages of recent immigrants to France. Flemish is unquestionably one of the [native languages](#) of France (see in the north). And just along the coast in Belgium and Netherlands, Dutch is spoken by twenty million prosperous people. Bilingualism is surely no threat and would be a great economical advantage to the Flemish of France.

There were some grounds for hope that Paris thought so, too. Back in April 2001 the Minister of Education, Jack Lang, formally admitted that for more than two centuries French governments had repressed regional languages. He even announced that bilingual education would, for the first time, be recognized and bilingual teachers recruited in French public schools.

This hope has turned out to be shortlived, mere lip service paid to the lofty ideal of national diversity. The reality is that for Paris today, just as before, [the Frenchification](#) of the North of France can't go fast enough. The Flemish instruction books of the French Lille Academy will end up on the local flea market.

It is exceedingly curious how the French authorities hold to their historical prejudices and see the Flemish-French not in the way they see other French citizens but as a threat to the integrity of France.



There is a Flemish-French resistance. Régis De Mol, president of the aforementioned Flemish Regional Alliance of France, refuses to extol the liberal wonders of African genes in Flemish-French society. He is sanguine about the prospect, comparing the situation to Ireland. The majority in Ireland only speaks English but an Irishman stays forever an Irishman. The same in France: their Flemish language may be stolen but the Flemish of France will continue to call

themselves Flemish.

Earlier De Mol asked Paris for a regional legislative parliament, to reside in the historical building of the first Flemish parliament in Douai. The original parliament dates from 1714, but it fell victim to the French Revolution.

De Mol must know he will never get a straight answer. The latest development at the Lille Academy tells him everything he needs to know about the goodwill of Monsieur le Président de la République.

Posted by [Johan Van Vlaams](#) on Friday, September 8, 2006 at 10:33 AM in [European Nationalism](#)

1. The language in the country
  1. General information on the language community
  2. Geographical and language background
  3. General history and history of the language
  4. Legal status and official policies
  
2. The use of the language in various fields
  1. Education
  2. Judicial Authorities
  3. Public Authorities and services
  4. Mass media and Information technology
  5. The Arts
  6. The business world
  7. Family and social use of the language
  8. Transnational exchanges
  
3. Conclusion

## **1. The language in the country**

### **1.1. General information on the language community**

Flemish is spoken in the north-west of France by an estimated population of 20,000 daily speakers and 40,000 occasional speakers. It is spoken alongside French, which is gradually replacing it for all purposes and in all areas of communication. It is a variety of Western Flemish that belongs to the Dutch sub-group of the German language family. The existence of Flemish in the area is evidenced by its use in place names since the eighth century, in ninth-century commentaries and 13th century administrative documents.

### **1.2. Geographical and language background**

Flemish is spoken in north-western France, in the area between Dunkerque, Bourbourg, Saint-Omer and Bailleul. This area roughly covers the *arrondissement* of Dunkerque (Nord-Pas-de-Calais Region). It is often referred to as "Flandre maritime" (maritime Flanders) and people used to speak of "Flandre flammingante" (Flemish Flanders) as opposed to "Flandre Lilloise" or "Flandre wallingante" (Walloon Flanders). Outside this region, other varieties of the same language are spoken in Belgium (in Flanders and Brussels, as well as a few Communes in Wallonia) and the Netherlands, by 5.6 million and 12 million speakers, respectively. The language is also used in some old Dutch colonies, including some Caribbean islands and Suriname. The Dutch language is also the basis of Afrikaans, which is spoken in South Africa and Namibia.

The region has a total population of 3,932,939, or 7.24% of the total population of France, and 320 people live in maritime Flanders. The total population of the *Nord Département* fell by approximately 5000 between March 1982 and January 1986. Population density is around 317 people per km<sup>2</sup> and a third of the population is under the age of 30, whilst 16% is over the age of 60. Emigration is taking place, especially from towns whose livelihood has been based on the mining, iron-and-steel and textiles industries. According to our correspondent, Flemish has virtually disappeared from urban areas.

According to Röhrig (1987), some 20% of people living in maritime Flanders are of Flemish mother-tongue. However, only 5% of them use Flemish on a daily basis. The enormous differences that can be observed between the generations seem to point to the disappearance of the language. The generation of grandparents divides into 36% French-speakers, 38% Flemish-speakers and 26% using both languages, whereas the generation of parents divides into 75% French-speakers, 25% Flemish-speakers and 25% using both languages. The younger generation uses the languages in the proportions of 99% French, 1% Flemish and 8% both. A study conducted in 1981 also pinpointed a decline in the use and knowledge of Flemish among young people, in comparison with their parents. Only 5% of young people said that they often used Flemish, in comparison with 54% of their parents; 23% of young people used Flemish sometimes, in comparison with 22% of parents; and finally, 72% of young people said they never used Flemish, in comparison with 54% of parents. From the point of view of passive knowledge of the language, only 11% of young people said they had a very good knowledge, in comparison with 46% of their parents; 32% of young people said they had some knowledge, in comparison with 23% of parents; and 57% said they had no knowledge, in comparison with 31% of parents.

In terms of the economy, the Nord-Pas-De-Calais Region comes fourth in the list of France's 21 regions as regards gross domestic product, but falls to 16th place in terms of per capita gross domestic product when the large number of people who are unemployed are taken into account. It has the highest emigration rate in France, with some 10 people having left the region every year between 1980 and 1990. The primary sector focuses on agriculture and fishing and, although agriculture provides employment for only 5.5% of the population, the region has the third highest agricultural output in France. A third of the fisheries catch is obtained along the 140 km of coastline. The traditional industries are textiles, mechanical engineering, glass and iron and steel. The number of coal mines fell from 109 in 1945 to just 4 in 1987. The textiles industry employs 70 people, accounts for a fifth of jobs in the region and produces a quarter of France's textiles output. The atomic energy produced at the Gravelines power station in Dunkerque accounts for 12.4% of France's nuclear energy. The iron-and-steel company SOLLAC employs 15 people in the region. The food industry is currently expanding, with companies such as Nestlé, Suchard, Bonduelle and McCain having plants in the region. Since the 1970s, job losses in the mining industry have been offset by the development of the service sector, particularly in the areas of health care and goods haulage.

In an area which, until 1950, had close on 50 seasonal or frontier-zone Belgian workers, the reverse is now true, with some 50 workers from the *Nord Département* working in neighbouring areas of Belgium.

### **1.3. General history and history of the language**

Flemish is based on the Frankish introduced by the conquering Franks following the decline of the Roman Empire around 406 AD. The French Flemings can trace their cultural and linguistic roots back to the time when the region was ruled by the Counts of Flanders, from 892 onwards - a heritage that was not broken by the fact that the region later came under the rule of France, the Hapsburgs, Spain and the Netherlands. French Flanders became a part of France in the late 17th century. The Nord and Pas-de-Calais Départements were created in February 1790. French Flanders became a definitive part of France in 1713.

Dutch was still being used in maritime Flanders as the language of literature and local administration up to the time of the French Revolution. Since then, Flemish has lost all its links with language and cultural developments in Belgium and the Netherlands and now survives only by oral tradition. The links with its unique linguistic past are gradually disappearing because of acculturation with respect to the old mother tongue.

The last few years have seen tensions surrounding the fight for the free Uylenspiegel radio station between 1978 and 1982. In 1981, the workers' college of Hazebrouk brought together a number of cultural associations to publish a manifesto for the teaching of the old mother tongue. The introduction of options in Flemish language and culture in six secondary schools in 1982 gave rise to rivalries concerning the teaching of Flemish as opposed to Dutch. In 1986, the teaching of Dutch was promoted in primary schools in south Wervik. Then, in 1989, Dutch classes were introduced in the primary and secondary schools of Bailleul. These two projects were undertaken as part of a programme of exchanges between France, the Netherlands and Belgian Flanders. None of these initiatives had the primary aim of influencing language policy or preventing the disappearance of the Flemish language in society.

There has been no opposition movement in the linguistic field but the lack of support by regional and national authorities has placed obstacles in the way of initiatives whose purpose was to promote the traditional Flemish language and culture.

### **1.4. Legal status and official policies**

The Flemish language is not afforded any legal status in France, either by central or regional institutions. It enjoys no official recognition, either by the public authorities or by the education system.

According to our correspondent, Flemish plays no part in legislation, except in the Savary Memorandum (Ministerial Memorandum 82-261 of 21/1982), which promised financial support for the teaching of regional languages in schools and universities for a period of three years. Again according to our correspondent, implementation of this memorandum has had very little effect.

The population, we understand, is of the opinion that the French Government does not feel that Flemish helps to enrich France's heritage but that, on the contrary, it sees it as being of little value. Consequently, it provides no support for the language in the region.

As for the regional authorities, apart from a few statements of principle, they have done nothing practical to support the Flemish language. Their cultural policy actually tends to be hostile to Flemish-speakers.

## **2. The use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1. Education**

Dutch is taught as a foreign language at primary, secondary and post-secondary level. Responsibility for this teaching lies with the Vice-Chancellor of Lille. By contrast, classes are never taught through the medium of Dutch.

The past few years have seen a significant increase in Dutch classes, particularly in Bailleul. The unique situation in Bailleul is explained by historical reasons (Dutch remained the teaching medium, both under Louis XIV and the Republic) but mainly by the activities of a few eminent promoters in Bailleul, such as the current burgomaster, Delobel, who speaks very little Dutch himself but is strongly committed to everyone in the area learning the language.

This rising trend applies to the teaching of Dutch as a foreign language, whilst interest in regional Flemish continues to decline. The ambiguous relationships between the teaching of Dutch as a foreign language and regional Flemish is leading to some lack of understanding between employees in the cultural and educational sectors, on the one hand, and Flemish activists, on the other. Policy measures to support one or the other of these languages prevent anyone from having an objective view, as do the nationalist movements that are supported by Belgian Flanders. Language schemes do not enjoy the support either of French linguists or of scientific research. There are a few State regulations governing the teaching of Flemish history and culture. However, of the six secondary schools that originally introduced classes in Flemish, only one is still offering this option.

There are no inspection bodies supervising Dutch teaching at the same level as for other European languages. The State has, moreover, taken no measures to support, encourage or offer Dutch classes outside the region.

Dutch is not used in pre-school education. However, Dutch is offered as an option in primary schools in south Wervik and Bailleul. 820 pupils have currently opted to study Dutch in Bailleul, where the teaching of Dutch is most actively promoted.

Dutch is an optional subject in some secondary schools. There are currently some 500 pupils who have chosen Dutch as an option. History and geography textbooks are available in Dutch. In general, there has been a relative increase in use of the language in secondary education.

Dutch is taught as a modern foreign language at the universities of Dunkerque and Lille. There has, however, been a reduction in interest at this level. Only some 120 students are currently enrolled for Dutch studies at these universities and our correspondent explains this drop in student numbers by, among other things, the fact that there are no links between Dutch as a foreign language and its historical use in the region.

The Government offers Dutch classes as an adult education and continuing training subject. Initiatives in this area tend to come from individuals or local policy-makers.

Training for Flemish teachers was introduced in Lille in 1983 but abandoned just a year later, in 1984.

The Professor of Dutch at Lille has for years been trying to introduce the Dutch Certificat d'Aptitude au Professorat de l'Enseignement Secondaire (CAPES - Diploma of Education) in France. He is supported in his efforts by the Nederlandse Taalunie (Dutch/Flemish intergovernmental organization).

## **2.2. Judicial authorities**

The use of French Flemish is not permitted before the courts.

## **2.3. Public authorities and services**

According to our information, central government makes no use of Flemish at all. It would appear that the use of French Flemish is not permitted by the regional authorities and that its use is advised against by the official authorities. The same seems to apply to the local authorities. In brief, the State is not taking any measures to ensure use of this language by the public authorities.

All public services are offered in just one language - French. This applies, in particular, to telephone bills and receipts, telephone directories, hospital signs, electricity bills, signs for post offices and police stations. Flemish is not used at all at this level. Nor is it possible for service-users to use French Flemish in their contacts with the various public and semi-public bodies.

Apart from a few street names in Flemish, all road signs are in French. Over the past five years or so, it has, it seems, become common for house names to be in Flemish.

Place names are correctly used in their traditional form and it is also possible to use Flemish surnames. It is certainly possible to choose a Flemish given name, but this remains relatively rare.

Research on dialect is being conducted in the region by the University of Ghent in Belgium, but forms part of a study of Dutch dialects in general and does not take any particular account of French Flemish. The language situation in the region is not being studied by any of France's linguistic or sociological research centres.

## **2.4. Mass media and information technology**

The use of Flemish in the media is not officially authorized.

### **Daily newspapers**

There are no daily newspapers in Flemish (the regional dialect has no written form).

### **Periodicals**

Three French periodicals, *Platch'iou* (Dunkerque), *Revue de l'Houtland* (Steenvoorde) and *Yserhouck* (Volkerinckhove) regularly contain articles on various aspects of Flemish in France as well as articles in regional Flemish or Dutch.



The periodical *KFV-Mededelingen* is published in standard Dutch. As the quarterly newsletter of the *Komitee voor Frans-Vlaanderen* ([Belgian] Committee for French Flanders), it provides news, a cultural diary and articles on tourism, the economy and ecology.

The bilingual yearbook *De Franse Nederlanden/Les Pays-Bas français* (The French Low Countries), which has been published annually in Belgium for the past 19 years, offers a dozen scientific articles (written in an accessible way) on cultural and economic life in Nord-Pas-de-Calais, focusing particularly on cross-border contacts. It has a column on the Dutch language in France.

## **Radio**

The Radio Uylenspiegel radio station in Cassel broadcasts 10% of its programmes in Flemish. This independent radio station originally operated illegally, until it gained legal status in 1982.

## **Television**

There is no television station broadcasting in Flemish.

## **Computers**

French Flemish has no written form.

## **2.5. The Arts**

Existing publications are mainly school books. A single regional Flemish tutor was published in 1992.

Since 1989, the history section of the KFV has published three leaflets. These are distributed internally and a few articles have been published in the local press.

In the music world, mention might be made of two vocalists: Raymond Declercq from Coudekerque and Maryse Collache from Dunkerque.

The border Commune of Westouter has a Belgian theatre group called Volkstoneel voor Frans-Vlaanderen. Flemish plays are staged each year in Flemish villages in France. There is no activity worth mentioning in the film world or as regards cultural festivals.

Cultural activities are supported by some Communes, such as Bailleul, Hazebrouck and Wormhout. However, the Flemish cultural centre in Hazebrouck, which was set up in 1981, is not currently offering any activities.

There are a number of unofficial organizations that take an interest in promoting Dutch language and culture, including the Centre Michiel De Swaen in Bergues. The *Komitée Nederlands Onderwijs* and the *Komitee voor Frans-Vlaanderen* also promote the teaching of Dutch; the *Tegaere Toegaen* promotes the teaching of Flemish; and the *Comité flamand de la France* and the *Association Foirante* are also active.

According to our correspondent, the State does not prohibit cultural activities, but it does exhibit attitudes that are generally opposed to Flemish movements. We have been told that the French State is not making any moves to come to the aid of the Flemish language in the cultural domain.

## **2.6. The business world**

Knowledge of Flemish is never a condition of employment.

The language is never used in advertising. Labels and instructions for use are not printed in Flemish.

Flemish has no role to play in the business world. It would also appear that the regional and local authorities have not developed any policies either to promote or restrict use of the language in economic and social activities.

## **2.7. Family and social use of the language**

The use of Flemish within the family has diminished to a tiny percentage since the Second World War. Flemish is now really only used by a very small number of families. This trend started in the period between the Wars since when there has been a total upheaval as regards language use.

Courting couples speak to each other in French, which means that it is reasonable to state that all households are endogamous, that is, French-speaking. Moreover, although there was still a difference in the language education of young women in the 1930s, with girls being taught more French than boys, there is no longer any difference now.

Although 20% of priests speak French Flemish, mass is celebrated in Flemish only very occasionally. The catechism exists in a bilingual version, with the latest edition dating back to 1936, but it has not been taught in Flemish since the last War. There is no Flemish translation of the Bible.

As regards attitudes, the Flemish language is usually associated with inferiority and is seen as old-fashioned. Most speakers think the language will disappear completely in the next couple of generations. They see the language as being of some, albeit small, use for the future, whereas people who do not speak the language see it as being of little use. Despite the fact that young people have some interest in learning Flemish as a foreign language, they do not use it in their daily lives. People who still have a passive knowledge of the language feel that it helps them to learn other Germanic languages.

Interest in Dutch classes is growing among young French-speakers but the number of young people who speak Dutch remains small.

## **2.8. Transnational exchanges**

Experimental Dutch classes have been offered at primary and secondary level since 1986 within the framework of a programme of exchanges between France, Belgian Flanders and the Netherlands. However, since French Flemish is considered to be a variety of Dutch, there is a tendency not to perceive it as a native regional language.

Contacts have also been established in the areas of commerce, tourism and environmental protection.

### **3. Conclusion**

French Flemish does not enjoy any official recognition in France, with the exception of a Ministerial memorandum of 1982, which was supposed to facilitate teaching of the language. Despite the additional obstacle of the absence of any written form of French Flemish, its relationship to Dutch, which is one of the official working languages of the European Union, could contribute to its preservation. Knowledge of Dutch is, moreover, vital for any understanding of the historical background and cultural and linguistic roots of the region. This knowledge is also extremely useful for economic and tourist dealings with the region's Belgian and Dutch neighbours.

# Flemish in the North of France

Hugo Ryckeboer - University of Ghent, Department of Dutch Linguistics, Blandijnberg 2, BE-9000 Ghent, Belgium

Some of the oldest sources of the Dutch language originate from the north of France, where also a lot of place names and family names give evidence of the historical presence of Dutch in that region, although it was mostly called there Flemish. It was replaced there by old French in its Picard form from the 11th century onwards. The gradual transition of language and the corresponding moving up of the language border lasted for about a thousand years. That border did not coincide with political borders, e.g. between the counties of Artesia and Flanders.

After the annexation of great parts of Flanders by Louis XI in the 16th century a slow Frenchification of what is now the arrondissement of Dunkirk began. But Dutch continued to play its role as a cultural language until the French Revolution. The legislation about language use in education and administration hastened the Frenchification of the upper class in the 19th century, especially in the towns. But it was not earlier than the period between the two world wars and mainly after the Second World War that the oral Flemish dialect was increasingly given up. As a result, its disappearance is imminent.

## Introduction

One of the oldest preserved sentences in Western Old Dutch, a love poem written down in Rochester in Kent in the late 11th century (the text says *Hebban olla vogala nestas hagunnan, hinasi hic anda thu* (Have all birds begun their nests except you and me)) is attributed to an author originating from what is now northern France (Gysseling, 1980: 126–130). And indeed, the northern part of the present-day French region Nord – Pas-de-Calais used to be part of the Dutch language territory or – as far as the ‘arrondissement’ Dunkirk in the ‘département du Nord’ is concerned – is still part of it today. One of the most visible and explicit signs of this belonging are the many Dutch place and family names in this northern French region.

## The Historical Retreat of Dutch from Pas-de-Calais

Those Dutch names in the Nord – Pas-de-Calais region are the last remnants of a larger Old Dutch and Middle Dutch speaking area in the Middle Ages, situated to the north of the linguistic border between Romance and Germanic languages, that had its course much further to the west and the south than today along a line that in the ninth century was going from the mouth of the Canche to just north of the city of Lille, where it coincided with the present language frontier in Belgium.

The reconstruction of the course of the original language border by M. Gysseling is founded on the respective Romance or Germanic phonetic evolution of the place-names, dating back to the seventh and eighth centuries in that bilingual region (Gysseling, 1976).

The origin of that primary language boundary seems to have been a consequence of a Late-Roman defence system along the route from Boulogne to Cologne, that had been held predominantly by hired German forces (see 0143-4632/02/01 0022-14 \$20.00/0 © 2002 H. Ryckeboer JOURNAL OF MULTILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT Vol. 23, Nos. 1&2, 2002 Lamarco & Rogge, 1996).

In addition, we must also take into account an intense Saxon colonisation in Pas-de-Calais from the fifth to the eighth century. A map of the area of their colonisation (Vanneufville, 1979:30) corresponds strikingly with the expansion in the Picard dialect of the Anglo-Saxon loanword *hoc*, *hoquet* ‘dung hook’.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the historical and present language situation in the north of France is the steady movement of the linguistic border in favour of the Romance to the detriment of the Germanic language. That proves that the Romance varieties (namely Picard and later standard French) used to have more prestige than the Germanic ones and caused a millennial language shift. The final consequence is that the Flemish dialect, still spoken nowadays in the rural communities of the arrondissement of Dunkirk, is in danger of disappearing.

From the ninth century onwards one can observe a steady growth of Romance influence to the north of this original language boundary. The Romanisation seems to have reached the river Leie (Lys) as early as the 10th century. The city of Boulogne was bilingual up to the 12th century. One can presume that around 1300 the location of the linguistic border was situated approximately along a line that starts at the Cap-Griz-Nez, keeps to the south of Guînes, Ardres and Saint-Omer, and reaches the Leie (Lys) east of Aire. Within this region it was the towns which seem to have introduced and adopted the French language (in its regional Picard form) first. From these centres of commerce and education it radiated towards the surrounding countryside. This process went on for several centuries: Calais was bilingual until the 16th century, Saint-Omer, until the 18th century and from that century on the Frenchification begins also in the arrondissement of Dunkirk.

The historical presence of Dutch in the northern part of Pas-de-Calais is still recognisable not only in the place names but also in the surviving of a considerable amount of Dutch substrate words in the local Picard dialect. Several maps based on the ALPic I (see Carton & Lebegue, 1989), ALF (see Gilliéron & Edmont, 1902–1910) and Poulet (1987) can demonstrate this, e.g. *clav* for 'clover' (ALF 1326), *bêr*, *bêrk* for 'shed' (ALPic I 46) (see Ryckebøer, 1997).

### **Historical Evolution of the Language Situation in the Département du Nord**

The official written language that succeeded Latin during the 13th century in the part of the county of Flanders lying to the east of the Aa was mainly Dutch (Beyers, 1999). Although French was the language of the nobility in Flanders, and although this language had great prestige in the social upper class, it never endangered the vernacular tongue. Dutch (or Flemish as it was called) was not only the spoken language, it was also the language of local administration and literature in the largest part of the county to the north of the language border, the so-called 'flamingant' Flanders. This was also the case in that western part of the county that belongs to France since the second half of the 17th century. The Flemish-speaking 'chastellanies' of Bergues, Bourbourg, Cassel and Bailleul were then conquered by Louis XIV and have belonged to France since the treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

The use of Dutch in official domains was restricted almost immediately after the change of power. Education continued to be mainly in Dutch during the 18th century. On the one hand, the intellectuals and men of letters in the 17th and 18th century, e.g. Michiel de Swaen of Dunkirk, clearly insist on the unity of their language with the rest of the Netherlands, especially with Holland. On the other hand, they are bilinguals and they are very well informed about the cultural and literary events in France, so that their works have often had a linking function between the French and the Dutch cultural world. Moreover, in most cities French schools were established for the French-speaking members of the army and the administration. Their presence must have played an important role in the rise of a language shift, that later proved to be irreversible. Consequently we see that by the end of the 19th century Dunkirk, Gravelines and Bourbourg and their surrounding countryside had become predominantly French (or Picard) speaking.

Yet, the linguistic situation did not change fundamentally until the French Revolution in 1789, and Dutch continued to fulfil the main functions of a cultural language during the first century of French rule in this formerly monolingual Dutch region. There was an intense literary activity in the circles of the 'Rederijkerskamers' (theatre companies) and the French–Flemish chambers continued to participate in contests in the Austrian Netherlands and vice versa.

A teacher from Cassel, Andries Steven, wrote a manual for language instruction in 1713, the *Nieuwen Nederlandtschen Voorschriftboek*, that stayed in use for more than a century in many schools on both sides of the state border.

After the Revolution the new political ideology in France condemned all minority languages, as remnants of an old feudal society, that had to be eradicated as soon as possible. Nevertheless the teacher Pieter Andries from Bergues stated in his answer to the inquiry of Grégoire about the 'patois de France' that his language was not a dialect but 'une langue raisonnée' by which he indicated that Dutch still had the function of a cultural language (De Certeau *et al.*, 1975: 231–243).

During the 19th century, especially in the second half of it, educational legislation banned Dutch/Flemish from all levels of education (Nuyttens, 1976). As a result, Dutch gradually lost most of its functions as a cultural language. Its literary use became mostly confined to regional items for the still popular local theatre, to folklore (Edmond De Coussemaker, *Chants populaires des Flamands de France*, 1856) or just to comical tales (*Tisje Tasje's Almanak*; Moeyaert, 1978). The written language gained an increasingly regional character as it was cut off from the linguistic evolutions in Belgium and Holland, and also from the consecutive spelling reforms. In practice however the teaching of Dutch continued in many elementary schools (namely those that stayed under the influence of the clergy), and the Roman Catholic Church continued to preach and teach the catechism in Flemish in many parishes until the First World War. In this way the tradition of literacy-learning in Dutch was not completely abandoned, persisting mainly among the local clergy.

Yet, the increasing use of French implied the functional loss of the old mother tongue. The Frenchification did not immediately change the course of the language border; rather it worked from within, from the little towns, where the bourgeoisie was the first social class to give up their Flemish. As early as 1886, the parish-priest of Bierne (near Bergues), answering a dialect inquiry made by the Louvain professor P. Willems, stated that the indigenous Flemish dialect of the city of Dunkirk had almost disappeared (Ryckeboer, 1989).

This means that throughout the 19th century, a social language border existed in the département of Dunkirk, with an uneven distribution among the small towns and the villages. Although there has been almost no change in the geographical linguistic border between the French speaking and the Flemish dominated areas in the last 100 years, the ratio between the two languages within the bilingual area has changed steadily, generation after generation, to be almost completely reversed in the course of 120 years (see Vanneste, 1982). From about the interbellum in the 20th century onwards, everybody became bilingual and code-switching was practised frequently. The younger generation after the Second World War was almost exclusively educated in French and became ignorant of Flemish. The Flemish dialect became restricted almost to the middle-aged and elderly people and the passing on of the Flemish language to the next generation stopped in most families, even in the countryside, during the 1930s or 1940s. (Pée, 1946, XVI–XVII).

As a consequence those who still have an active knowledge of the Flemish dialect belong –with only a few exceptions – to the group of people who are 60 or older. Neither the motivation of this social behaviour of giving up the ancestral language nor its chronological quantification have ever been the object of a sociological inquiry, but it is striking that the French-Flemish language community has hardly ever shown any social or political opposition to this Frenchification process.

Social reasons (higher education, commerce and industrialisation that all had their main attraction pools outside the Flemish-speaking area) urged the Flemish-speaking population to have a good knowledge of French. Moreover the Flemish always showed a great readiness to convergence in language use: from the moment that one member of a conversation group was unable to understand or speak Flemish, they all switched to French. And they still do so, for instance in the

'club' of elderly people, where the majority is often Flemish speaking. Since this group of Flemish-speaking people is ever diminishing and the possibilities of speaking Flemish in public have become rare, special meetings are held in some places at regular times where only Flemish is spoken (e.g. monthly in the village of Rubrouck and in the Musée Jeanne Devos in Wormhout).

### **Reactions to the Official Language Policy and Language Loss**

Now that the Charta of minority and regional languages in Europe has led to some discussion about the minority languages also in France, it has become clear that the Flemish minority is the minority that has had the least attention from the political or scientific side. It certainly is one of the smallest linguistic minorities in France, but the fact that the language group as a whole has behaved so calmly and never has claimed any linguistic rights in a noisy or violent way, accounts for the fact that their very existence is hardly known in France – not even in Lille, the capital of the département – by ordinary people, let alone by politicians. Even when Flemish-speaking persons get a high ranking position in the region, they usually don't even mention their linguistic background and identity.

There was some protest from local authorities and village councils against the educational restrictions in the 19th century and even in the first decades of the 20th century, when it was still the custom to hold council meetings in Flemish. Some priests and clergymen openly neglected the prohibition to teach the catechism in Flemish and bravely supported a sanction, but a public protest was not formulated during the 20th century except for a repeated demand in 1910 and 1921 by the priest-deputy, mayor of Hazebrouck, Jules Lemire to teach the mother tongue. Yet, that was declined on the basis of 'antipatriotism'. It is characteristic that German in Alsace and Flemish or Dutch in French Flanders were excluded from the Deixonne law that regulated the teaching of minority languages in 1951.

Possible 'help' from abroad (Wood, 1980) has hardly ever been successful. In both world wars the German occupants tried to exploit the frustrations concerning the French language policy in favour of their own policy. The fact that the leader of the Flemish Movement in France, the priest Jean Marie Gantois, openly defended the collaboration with the Nazis, compromised all Flemish linguistic or cultural claims after the second World War. The attempts of the Belgian *Komitee voor Frans-Vlaanderen* (Committee for French-Flanders) to preserve the language by organising free courses of Modern Dutch, was able to arouse some interest for this language, but not to stop the language shift from dialect to French.

It was not until the 1970s that the climate changed under the impulse of a movement that was more socialist and ecologist of motivation, and that the vernacular language got new interest: the launching of a manual: *Vlaemsch leeren* [Learning Flemish] and the struggle for the legalising of a regional broadcasting association *Radio Uylenspiegel* finally changed the climate. In 1977 the *Reuzekoor* was founded in Dunkirk, an association that revitalised the traditional folk songs in both Flemish and French. In order to get the singers accustomed to the Flemish language a Flemish course was launched that in 1992 led to a textbook by Jean Louis Marteel: *Cours de Flamand* (Flemish Course; Marteel, 1992). The culminating point was the 'Université Populaire' of 1981, a meeting of all groups and associations concerned in Hazebrouck. They edited a manifest which stated, among other things, the following:

we urge that measures be taken, especially on a regional basis, to preserve (better than before) the undamaged environment and the cultural heritage of French-Flanders, viz.: landscapes, picturesque or historical places, works of art, technical or everyday objects, archives, etc. We also want more money to be invested in order to perform these tasks and in order to correct some mistakes of the past.

The French-Flemings also insist that their right to use their own language be recognised and implemented. They demand that the Flemish dialect, spoken or understood by some 150,000 people in the 'Westhoek', no longer be considered an alien language, but be acknowledged



as one of the mother tongues of French citizens. Consequently, they want that particular language to be used in preschool and primary school education. It has to be taught to children in order to give them the opportunity to fully develop in their ancestral language and to acquire mastery (during secondary education) of the Dutch standard language to which their Flemish dialect belongs and which is the mother tongue of 22 million of Europeans across our border.

In 1982 under the first Mitterand government the Minister of Education Savary launched a 'circulaire' that created possibilities for the teaching of the regional languages in France. The association *Tegaere Toegaen* ('Advance together') was able to get the teaching of the Flemish dialect launched in several elementary schools and the teaching of *Langue et Culture flamande* in several secondary schools (the collèges of Grande-Synthe, Steenvoorde, Hondschote, Wormhout, Bourbourg and Cassel). But this early success didn't last for long and five years later this kind of instruction had almost disappeared. On the other hand the teaching of Dutch as a foreign language and 'the language of the neighbours' was gradually introduced and is now officially sustained by an agreement between the national school authorities and the 'Nederlandse Taalunie' (the intergovernmental Dutch-Belgian organisation that promotes the common interests in the Dutch language). This is the case, for example in the 'bilingual instruction' in the schools of the border towns Wervicq-Sud and Bailleul (Belle) (see Halink, 1991; Van Hemel & Halink, 1992).

This kind of language teaching, however, is mainly inspired by economic motivation and is not intended to cope with possible regionalist claims. This situation has led to a smouldering conflict between the supporters of the local Flemish and those who support the teaching of Standard Dutch. The first ones have tried to prove that the Flemish dialect had already grown into a language apart from Dutch from the 16th century on (Sansen, 1988), which is false, whereas the teaching of Dutch as a modern language has hardly succeeded in making the link with the local linguistic heritage.

### **Characteristics of the Flemish dialect in France**

The Flemish dialect spoken in French Flanders structurally belongs to the West Flemish dialect group. Most dialect maps do not show a break along the state border. On the contrary, most isoglosses cross the state border and only a few follow its course (see Ryckboer, 1977, Maps 1 and 2). Apparently the actual state border, dating back to 1713, does not correspond to any old dividing line in human communication, otherwise it would have caused an important bundle of isoglosses. Only the political separation of the last 300 years has caused this border to become a secondary dialect boundary.

However, although the French Flemish dialect does not differ essentially from the other West Flemish dialects, it has at least two idiosyncratic features:

- (1) as a result of its peripheral position in the Dutch-speaking area and also because of its national and cultural separation it contains some typically western or coastal elements often called inguaeonisms and it has conserved many archaic elements which have disappeared elsewhere. This goldmine of archaism results from the fact that it has not participated in evolutions that have taken place in the Belgian Flemish dialects under the influence of Brabantic varieties or of the Dutch Standard language;
- (2) through this long separation from other Dutch dialects and the Dutch standard language, it has also developed local innovations. The most characteristic ones are due to its long contact with the neighbouring Picard dialect or Standard French.

Many of the so-called inguaeonisms or some particular Middle Dutch phonological, morphological or lexical features that survive in French Flanders are only to be found in the utmost western part of that area. Examples of inguaeonism are e.g. the delabialisation of short *u* to [i] in *brigge* for Dutch *brug* (bridge) or the pronunciation [wei] for Dutch *weg* (compare English *away*).

Some Middle Dutch phonological, morphological or lexical elements that survive in French Flanders are : the omission of final *-n* in verbs, nouns and adverbs ending in *-en*, the preterite ending *-ede* in weak verbs, and the persistence of mediaeval Dutch words such as *moude* for 'dusty earth' (see WVD part I, fascicule 1, p. 87). The survival of archaic elements can occur in any dialect, but nowadays they are often confined to French Flanders only, e.g. *zole* for 'plough' (see WVD part 1, fascicule, *Ploegen*, p. 1).

### **Alienation from Other Dutch Dialects and Common Dutch by Communicative Isolation**

Older linguistic innovations coming from the east were still able to cross the state border, but often only to a limited extent, so that the archaism only occurs in the utmost western part of French Flanders. A good example is the map of the substitution of the preposition '*om*'.

Although the state border obviously did not prevent all local contact across the border, the linguistic influence from Belgium has become very weak and restricted all the same. Some word maps of the *Woordenboek van de Vlaamse Dialecten* (WVD, Dictionary of the Flemish Dialects) enable us to reconstruct the relative chronology of these diminishing contacts and influences. Barbed wire, for instance, was introduced into the region about 1880. The typical West Flemish name for it is *stekkerdraad*. This new word was only able to penetrate into a narrow strip along the border. The inner part of French Flanders had already been cut off from West Flemish influence. However, at the time the local dialect in this inner part was still vital enough to create new words for the new thing, such as *pieker-* or *fiekerdraad*. The increasing influence of French is also clear from the loan translation *ijzerdraad* (from Fr. *fil de fer*) and the loanword *barbelé* (*draad*).

Recent Belgian changes, even in traditional agricultural vocabulary have not often been able to cross the state boundary. A typical example is the name for the threshing floor in the barn. In Belgian Flanders a Brabant word *dorsvloer* has been laid over an older Flemish *schurevloer* during the last century, but this evolution decidedly stops at the state border (see WVD I, 2 Behuizing: 419).

The communicative isolation led to the expansion of some local characteristics to the whole area of French Flanders, so that the state border became a secondary dialect border in some respect.

A phonological example of indigenous evolution is the change from older *sk* to [š]. Even in 1880, L. De Bo, the author of the West Flemish Dialect Dictionary, noticed that the state border acted as the boundary for this phenomenon (see Taeldeman, 1996: 152).

An example of morphological evolution is the generalisation of the weak preterite ending *-ste* from the praeterito-praesentia to all weak verbs. This evolution stopped a few kilometres short of the state border, except in the neighbourhood of Steenvoorde, where it even crossed the border to Watou in Belgium.

### **Linguistic Innovations in the Flemish Dialect from Language Contact with French**

As a consequence of the retreat of the linguistic border during many centuries over the north of Pas-de-Calais and the arrondissement of Dunkirk generations and generations of bilinguals practised code-switching and consequently mixed up elements of the two languages. Vestiges of the influence of substrate Flemish on the Picard dialect in the north of Pas-de-Calais and by extension in the whole region are quoted in Callebaut and Ryckeboer (1997) and in Ryckeboer (1997). As Picard and later French were the languages with the greater prestige, borrowing from these languages into Flemish was more important than vice versa.

As early as 1886 a schoolmaster from Armboutscappel, filling out the Willems dialect inquiry, calls his language 'a terrible jargon, a mixture of Flemish and French' (Ryckeboer, 1989). Vandenberghe (1998) investigated a corpus of French Flemish dialect conversations, that were registered during the 1960s. It comes as no surprise that she was able to demonstrate a much

larger linguistic interference (both lexical and grammatical) of French in the Flemish dialect in France than in the neighbouring West Flemish on the Belgian side of the border. Only half of the lexical loans recorded in France were also known to be used in Belgium (303 out of 611, to be exact).

An example of the penetration of many French loanwords is the rendering of the concept 'to threaten'. The original Flemish (*be-/ ver-*) *dreigen* has been replaced by the loan-word *menasser*, except in a small strip along the Belgian border (see Map 4). But the most revealing outcome was that in French Flanders far fewer loanwords are phonetically or morphologically adapted to the Flemish dialect: out of a total of 228 adapted loanwords, 184 (80%) are also known in West Flanders; but out of a total of 383 non-adapted loanwords, only 119 (30%) are also known in Belgium. Moreover the domains are significant: they belong to e.g. modern agricultural techniques (*écrèmeuse*, *veleuse*, *inséminateur*), modern medicine (*tumeur*), education (*composition*), modern jobs (*assistant social*), modern apparatuses and structures (*appareil de photo*, *coup de téléphone*, *feuille d'impôts*, *marché commun*), etc. Even the Flemish denominations for animals that have become rare (and that consequently are known only from books) have disappeared: the swan is called a *cygne* and no longer *zwaan* (see WVD III, 1, Vogels); the tortoise (Dutch/Flemish *schildpad*) is known only as *tortue* (see WVD III, 2 Land en Waterfauna). The adapted loan words, however, mostly refer to the world of a traditional, even old-fashioned way of life, and the concepts referred to date back to a period when French still had very much the same prestige on both sides of the state border (e.g. *bassing*, *baskule*, *dokteur*, *sinteur*, etc.). For the concepts where on the French side, unadapted loanwords from the French standard are used, mostly standard Dutch words will be used on the Belgian side (*moissoneuse batteuse* – *pikdorser*; *conseil municipal* – *gemeenteraad*, whereas the archaic common dialect word for the latter was 'de wet').

The very profound influence of spoken French on the Flemish dialect in France is also reflected in the use of many loan adverbs that are unknown in Belgian West Flemish, especially those ending in *-ment*, such as *extrêmement*, *complètement*, and other adverbs and interjections, often used as phrasemarkers in French, such as (*et*) *puis*, *bien entendu*, *d'abord*, *quoi?*, etc. Many conjunctions are also borrowed from the French language, such as: *puisque* (*dat*), *parce que*, *soit*. They are totally unknown in Belgian dialects (with the exception of *tandis que*, which used to be very common in Belgian West Flemish as well). In addition a number of prepositions that consist of a partial translation of a French prepositional group are used in French Flemish, but never in Belgian West Flemish, such as *à force van*, *grâce van*.

The Flemish dialect in France also shows syntactic characteristics that reflect both the age-old influence of French and the absence of influence from more eastern Dutch, especially Brabantic, dialects. It appears from many inquiries, especially from the corpus of recorded conversations which Vandenberghe investigated, that extra-position of some adverbial complements and even inherent complements is very common in French Flemish. This is impossible in Standard Dutch and less common in the neighbouring Belgian Flemish dialects as well (see Vanacker, 1973).

Another syntactic feature of the French Flemish dialect is the almost complete absence of inversion (for 97%) after topicalisation of a non-subject constituent. (I have also observed this phenomenon in a chronicle of 1813 written by a French Flemish Napoleon soldier from Winnezele – Ryckeboer & Simon, 2001.) Data collected before the second World War for the West Flemish Dialect Atlas (Pée, 1946) showed 76% absence of inversion in Belgian West Flemish (Vanacker, 1967). Nowadays it is even less heard there, under the influence of the central Belgian regiolects and the Dutch standard language. We may conclude, therefore, that the state border has become a clear linguistic border not only as far as the lexicon but also as far as syntax is concerned.

# Flemish in France: A Case of Language Death

Summarising, it is obvious that the status of Dutch/Flemish in northern France has become very critical: it does not enjoy even the slightest form of official recognition and its use has become so marginal, even in the rural parts of the country (in the towns it has almost completely vanished), that one can expect its extinction within a few decades. An urgent task is to support it culturally and to valorise the still existing knowledge for linguistic and historical research.

Also, a general sociolinguistic inquiry is still lacking. During the 1970s and 1980s some local or partial inquiries were carried out that provided some data on the linguistic situation (Ryckeboer, 1976; Röhrig 1987; Ryckeboer & Maeckelberghe, 1987). The latter investigation carried through in the small border town of Hondshoote showed clearly that an almost total language shift had taken place over the last three or four generations. The grandparents of the pupils investigated spoke French to 36%, Flemish to 38% as well as both languages to each other. In the next generation of parents, born between 1932 and 1952, French was used as the exclusive family language in 75% of the cases. The remaining quarter used Flemish alongside with French, yet almost never with the children. With a few rare exceptions the pupils themselves spoke nothing but French, although their passive knowledge of Flemish still seemed to be considerable.

Half of the parents claimed to understand Flemish as did a quarter of the pupils. These data indicate that women gave up Flemish earlier than men – which is a common feature of feminine behaviour when less prestigious language varieties are at stake – but above all that extremely few youngsters are still familiar with Flemish. The answers on attitudinal questions reveal that 82% of the parents did not consider it worthwhile to pass on Flemish to the next generation, but that an equal amount of youngsters thought the opposite. Such attitudes are typical for a society confronted with imminent language death (Willemyns, 1997).

Yet, 16 years later bilingualism continues to exist in the region and contacts with the Dutch speaking Belgian neighbours can still incite some interest in both the own linguistic heritage and the language and culture of the Belgian and Dutch neighbours.

## Correspondence

Any correspondence should be directed to Dr Hugo Ryckeboer, Kromme Leie 29, B-9051 Sint-Denijs-Westrem, Belgium ([hugo.ryckeboer@pandora.be](mailto:hugo.ryckeboer@pandora.be)).

## Notes

1. This was the case e.g. when Noël Josephe, born in the border-village of Boeschepe, became the first 'président du Conseil régional' in 1981. Although his mastery of the Flemish dialect was excellent, he never mentioned or used it in public, except perhaps in local pre-election meetings.
2. In wealthy families in the former Flemish speaking part of what is now French Flanders it was the custom that the children went to Lille or Saint-Omer for some time to learn French. The mystic author Maria Petyt from Hazebrouck (1623–1677) writes in her autobiography that she was sent to Saint-Omer at the age of 11 to learn French.

## References

Beyers R. (ed.) (1999) *Van vader- naar moedertaal. Latijn, Frans en Nederlands in de dertiende-eeuwse Nederlanden*. Handelingen van de Koninklijke Zuid-Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis LIII.

Callebout, B. and Ryckeboer, H. (1997) Contacts linguistiques français-néerlandais dans le Nord de la France. In P. Nelde, Z. Sary, W. Wölck and H. Goebel (eds) *Contact Linguistics*, Vol. 2 (pp. 1240–1252). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Carton, F. and Lebegue, M. (1989) *Atlas linguistique et ethnographique du Picard*, tome I. Paris: CNRS.

DeCerteau, M., Julia, D. and Revel, J. (1975) *Une politique de la langue. La Révolution française et les Patois*. Paris: Gallimard.

Gilliéron, J. and Edmont, E. (1902–1910) *Atlas Linguistique de la France*. Paris.

Gysseling, M. (1976) Ontstaan en verschuiving van de taalgrens in Noord-Frankrijk. In *De Franse Nederlanden – Les Pays-Bas français* 1, 70–85 (The French version in *Bulletin du Comité flamand de France* 19, 1974).

Gysseling, M. (1980) *Corpus van Middelnederlandse teksten* (tot en met het jaar 1300), reeks II Literaire handschriften, deel I Fragmenten. s'-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.

Halink, R. (1991) Nederlands leren: hoe jonger hoe beter. *De Franse Nederlanden – Les Pays-Bas français* 16, 35–50.

Lamarcq, D. and M. Rogge (eds) (1996) *De Taalgrens. Van de oude tot de nieuwe Belgen*. Leuven: Davidsfonds.

Marteel, J.-L. (1992) *Cours de Flamand. Het Vlaams dan men oudders klappen. Méthode d'apprentissage du dialecte des Flamands de France*. Lille: Miroirs Editions.

Moeyaert, C. (1978) Over het taalgebruik in het begin van de 19de eeuw, aan de hand van het werk van Jan Baptist Van Grevelinghe (Tisje Tasje). *De Franse Nederlanden – Les Pays-Bas français* 3, 223–236.

Nuytens, M. (1976) De weerslag van de Franse onderwijswetten op de achteruitgang van de volkstaal in Noord-Frankrijk in de 19de eeuw. *De Franse Nederlanden – Les Pays-Bas français Jaarboek – Annuaire* 1976, 137–148.

Pée, W. (1946) *Dialect-Atlas van West-Vlaanderen en Fransch-Vlaanderen*. Antwerpen: De Sikkel (Reeks Nederlandsche Dialect-Atlassen # 6).

Poulet, D. (1987) *Au contact du Picard et du Flamand: parlers du Calaisis et de l'Audomarois*. Lille: P.U.L.

Röhrig, J.W. (1987) Die Sprachkontaktsituation im Westhoek. Studien zum Bilinguismus und zur Diglossie im französisch-belgischen Grenzraum. In *Romania occidentalis* (Johannes Kramer, ed.). Gerbrunn bei Würzburg.

Ryckeboer, H. (1976) De behoefte aan een taalsociologisch onderzoek in Frans-Vlaanderen. In *De Franse Nederlanden – Les Pays-Bas français* 1, 156–168.

Ryckeboer, H. (1977) Het Nederlands van de Franse Westhoek, situatie en situering. In *Taal en Tongval* 29, 50–66.

Ryckeboer, H. (1989) De Enquête Willems in Frans-Vlaanderen. In *De enquête Willems, Themanummer 2, Taal en Tongval*, 108 ff.

Ryckeboer, H. (1990) Jenseits der Belgisch-Französische Grenze: der Überrest des westlichsten Kontinentalgermanischen. *Germanistische Linguistik* 101–103, 241–271.

- Ryckeboer, H. (1991) Le flamand de Busbecq et ses interférences avec le gotique de Crimée. In A. Rousseau (ed.) *Sur les traces de Busbecq et du Gotique* (pp. 167–178). Lille: P.U.L.
- Ryckeboer, H. (1997) Nederlandse lexicale elementen in de Noord-Franse dialecten. In *Het Nederlands in Noord-Frankrijk. Sociolinguïstische, dialectologische en contactlinguïstische elementen* (pp. 170–292). Gent: Rijksuniversiteit.
- Ryckeboer, H. and Maeckelberghe, F. (1987) Dialect en standaardtaal aan weerszijden van de rijksgrens in de Westhoek. *De Franse Nederlanden – Les Pays-Bas français* 12, 129–151.
- Ryckeboer, H. and Simon, P. (2001) De kroniek van een Napoleonsoldaat uit Winnezele (Frans-Vlaanderen). In *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Toponymie en Dialectologie* LXXIII, 225–344.
- Sansen, J. (1988) Le flamand. Une langue-frontière mal connue. In G. Vermes (ed.) *Vingt-cinq communautés linguistiques de la France, tome 1 Langues régionales et langues non territorialisées* (pp. 169–187). Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Taeldeman, J. (1996) Enkele parallelle consonantische verschijnselen in het Afrikaans en de Nederlandse dialecten. *Taal en Tongval, Themanummer 9: Afrikaans en variëteiten van het Nederlands* (pp. 146–157).
- Vanacker, V.F. (1967) Syntaktische Daten aus französisch-flämischen Tonbandaufnahmen. In *Verhandlungen des 2. Internationalen Dialektologen kongresses* (pp. 844–855). Band II, Wiesbaden 1967.
- Vanacker, V.F. (1973) Een onnederlandse constructie in zuidwestelijke dialecten. In *Album Willem Pée* (pp. 367–377). Tongeren: Michiels.
- Vandenberghe, R. (1998) Lexicale ontlending uit het Frans in het Frans-Vlaamse dialect en morfologische integratie van de substantieven. In *Actes du colloque de la 1ère journée de la Coordination Universitaire pour l'Etude du Flamand* (pp. 73–82). Université Catholique de Lille.
- Van Hemel, H. and Halink, R. (1992) Belle: hartje van onderwijs Nederlands in Frans-Vlaanderen. In *De Franse Nederlanden – Les Pays-Bas français* 17, 60–74.
- Vanneste, A. (1972) Le français et le flamand en Flandre française: essai sur le recul de la frontière linguistique. In J. Caudmont (ed.) *Sprachen in Kontakt* (Languages in Contact) (pp. 17–35). Tübingen.
- Vanneufville, E. (1979) *De l'Elbe à la Somme. L'espace saxon-frison des origines au Xe siècle*. Amiens.
- Willemyns, R. (1997) Language shift through erosion: The Case of the French-Flemish 'Westhoek'. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 18, 54–66.
- Wood, R. (1980) Language maintenance and external support: The case of the French Flemings. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 25, 107–119.
- WVD = Devos, M., Ryckeboer, H., Van Keymeulen J. et al. (1979) *Woordenboek van de Vlaamse Dialecten*. Gent/Tongeren.

